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The Week

THE Spanish government moved from Madrid to Valencia during the week ending November 10, and desperate fighting in the suburbs of the former capital caused many persons to believe that the fall of the city was imminent. The chief strength of the rebel forces consisted, first, in German and Italian airplanes, tanks and heavy guns, some of them manned by Italian or German fascists in the uniforms of their own countries, and second, in regiments of half-savage Moors from Africa. The government reported some evidence of sabotage by the rebel forces and by workers in German and Italian munitions factories. The government resistance continued to be stiffened by fresh supplies of munitions from unidentified friendly foreign sources. . . . British Foreign Minister Eden made a speech opposing the German plan to isolate Russia and set up a closed West European system. . . . On the eve of the three-power conference among Italy, Austria and Hungary, the Austrians were worried by reports that Italy is prepared to accept revision of boundaries that would favor Hungary at Austria's expense. . . . Germany is changing her criminal code to suppress even more completely the rights of the individual; German judges are now told frankly to go outside the letter of the law to support the Nazi philosophy. The government offers the large internal loan now being floated as proof there will be no further devaluation of the mark, causing observers, perhaps too cynical, to predict that devaluation will at least be postponed until next March, when the loan subscriptions are all in. . . . The Pan American Conference at Buenos Aires took on added importance with the news that President Roosevelt will attend the opening ceremonies and perhaps make proposals of worldwide importance.

AS COMPLETE figures came in from the election, President Roosevelt's victory mounted to even more staggering proportions. The Chicago Tribune found comfort in explaining that it was all due to a united front of radicals—presumably, 26,000,000 of them; and Mr. Mark Sullivan consoled himself by arguing that if you subtract the Solid South, the Republican sweep in the House of Representatives in 1920 was still greater. In general, the Landon supporters admitted a terrific licking and there was a conspicuous rush to get on board the Roosevelt bandwagon. . . . Spokesmen for farmers and labor, assembled in Washington, demanded a return to the principles of the A.A.A. and a restoration of the wage and hour sections of the N.R.A. The expected pressure has appeared for a constitutional amendment if one proves necessary. . . . The President interpreted the election as a mandate to improve the status of working men and women, and put under way plans for an extensive reorganization of the federal government in the interest of logic and economy.

THE District of Columbia Court of Appeals upheld the right of the National Labor Relations Board to conduct employee elections for collective bargaining, and the Board itself, in the radio industry, certified the union as the spokesman for the workers, over the company union. . . . Another division of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals denied W. R. Hearst an injunction against the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee through which he sought to prevent its use of telegrams between himself and his employees. The Court agreed, however, with the lower tribunal that the Federal

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Communications Commission did not have the right to seize the telegrams under a blanket subpoena on behalf of the Senate Committee. . . . Wage increases and bonuses were announced by important units in the steel, automobile and other industries. . . . Another attempt to reconcile the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization came to nothing when William Green, of the A.F. of L., argued that he did not have power to meet John L. Lewis' condition and reinstate at once the expelled unions in the C.I.O., which now number fourteen. . . . Prospects of peace in the maritime strike appeared somewhat brighter as federal negotiators forced the shipowners to continue discussion of the points at issue. . . . San Francisco prepared for the opening this week of the vast bridge to Oakland, eleven miles long, with four and a half miles above navigable water, with towers 700 feet high, of which 500 feet are above the water level, erected at a cost of $77,000,000—and twenty-four lives.

WHILE sane citizens are sighing with relief that the strained attitudes and boredom of the campaign are over, they can also congratulate themselves that the election itself was a triumph for American institutions. After a bitter contest in which classes were divided largely along the lines of the size of income, there was a decisive victory, achieved wholly by democratic processes and accepted in good part by the losers. One of the greatest nations in the world has proved again that it can govern itself without resorting to the politics of dictatorship. Though belabored with all the weapons of propaganda in the arsenal of business and finance, though bullied by 65 percent of the press, and though threatened with innumerable symbolic devils and red herrings, the masses of voters kept their heads, quietly went to the polls and registered their unfrightened convictions, relying on the secret ballot. The overwhelming size of Mr. Roosevelt's plurality cannot be explained by any charges of corruption, pressure on relief workers and the like. The fact that such great popularity can be retained by an administration most of whose important measures have been declared unconstitutional, may give pause to judges opposed to social progress and courage to legislators. Among the minor blessings of the outcome may be cited the decisive weakening of the old, corrupt machines in New York, Philadelphia and other great cities, the new and better charter for New York, with its experiment of proportional representation, the admission of defeat by William Randolph Hearst and Father Coughlin—who at last is really off the air—and the discrimination of Massachusetts voters who, while supporting the Democratic administration, refused to send Mr. Curley to the Senate.

IT NOW seems certain that President Roosevelt will attend the Pan American Conference and deliver, on December 1, an address of importance. There are rumors, which we are unable to verify, that he may propose a new peace plan, primarily for the Western Hemisphere, but of worldwide application if the nations wished it so. Under this scheme, the other powers would immediately suspend all relations, commercial, financial and diplomatic, with any country guilty of aggression, the test of aggression to be sending soldiers across a frontier. Coupled with this, perhaps, would be a proposal for halting the armament race throughout the world at whatever point had been reached when the plan was adopted. The difficulties in the way of such a scheme are of course enormous; who is to report the facts of a movement of soldiers across a frontier? If the construction of armaments is halted, what about replacements, and how shall the world know that a secret increase is not under way, as was the case for years in Germany? Nevertheless, the plight of the great powers is so desperate, and the United States' coöperation is considered so important, that if the President offers any such plan it will certainly receive worldwide and close attention.

FOREIGN SECRETARY Anthony Eden, speaking in this session of the House of Commons, gave a definite answer to the plan of Mussolini and Hitler to enlist the friendship of Great Britain while preparing war against the Soviet Union. Britain will join no crusade against communism. He said that the English reciprocated Germany's desire for closer relations, but that two conditions are inevitably attached to any such offer on the part of his country—"the friendship cannot be exclusive or directed against anyone else." With regard to proposed participation by Germany in the new monetary accord and the movement to revive trade, he invited her to do so, promising to consider easement of her economic difficulties in so far as these "arise out of international restrictions of an economic or financial character and not out of decisions taken by her to deal with her own internal difficulties." Most of Germany's restrictions are of course self-imposed in the interest of rearmament. To Mussolini, in turn, he said quite directly that Britain regarded the Mediterranean not as "a short-cut but a main arterial road," that she did not propose to interfere with free passage of it on the part of anyone else, or to permit anyone else to interfere with her free passage. These remarks seem to us to repel the fascist diplomatic offensive in friendly but certain terms.

WAGE increases announced by employers in steel, motors and other industries are due partly to returning prosperity, of course, but still more to the growing power and aggressiveness of labor in the United States, to which the results of the election bore eloquent testimony. The most important increases occurred in those very industries which the Committee for Industrial Organization is attempting to unionize, and supply a testimonial to the value of even a mere possibility of collective action by workers. The steel organizers themselves, however,

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point out that the increases leave much to be desired, and representatives of a number of the more important company unions have expressed their dissatisfaction. The 10-percent average increase (going in larger measure to the lowest paid) is of course far smaller than the spectacular growth of profits. Though it brings average hourly rates above the 1929 level, weekly earnings are less because of the shorter working week, which is now forty hours. Finally, it is based on an increase in the cost of living and implies future reductions if the cost of living should fall. This is a dangerous principle, without too much economic soundness in an industrial society given to rapid increases in productiveness, as the unions discovered after the War.

GOOD news about civil liberties for the week ending November 10: Harry W. Colmery, national commander of the American Legion, made public an article written for The American Legion Monthly, containing a severe denunciation of Red-baiting groups within the Legion and an uncompromising stand in favor of the Bill of Rights. . . . Bad news for the same period: an appeal for legal defense funds sent out on behalf of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union by the Workers' Defense League is being investigated by U.S. District Attorney Fred S. Isgrig of Little Rock, Arkansas, on the grounds that collecting money "to fight peonage in Arkansas" constitutes an attempt to obtain money under false pretenses. . . . J. O. Murfin, a regent of the University of Michigan, said he would seek the dismissal of ten faculty members who voted for Earl Browder in a poll conducted by The Michigan Daily, campus newspaper. . . . Twenty-five aged Chinese workers in San Francisco have been denied relief and are threatened with deportation, according to information received by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. . . . Henry G. Alsberg, national director of the Federal Writers' Project, informed the St. Louis Writers' Union that he could not order the reinstatement of Wayne Barker, whose dismissal caused a strike of the Federal Writers' Project of St. Louis. Barker had written, under noms-de-plume and on his own time, a series of articles for The New Masses. The strikers, who include Jack Conroy, J. S. Balch, Edwa Moser and Jay Clark Waldron, have all received notices of dismissal.

THE adoption of preferential voting under proportional representation by New York City in this election adds one more to the string of considerable successes that this method has achieved. It is already in use in Cincinnati, Toledo, Wheeling and Winnipeg, among other cities, for city council elections, and in the Irish Free State for all elections. In New York City it will be used for a city council replacing the present board of aldermen, one councilman for each 75,000 votes cast. What this will probably mean in fact at the next city election, in 1937, is that each voter will be handed a paper ballot listing a large number of candidates in his borough, on which he will mark his first, second and third choice, and on down the line. When his ballot is reached in the counting, if his first choice has already received 75,000 votes and so stands elected, his vote will be applied to his second choice, or if this candidate is elected, to the third, and so on. Thus a vote of 2,400,000 in the city next year will elect a council of thirty-two members. Among the other effects that this system seems likely to have is that of removing the party label from candidates, although endorsements by groups may be on the ballot. The undeniable difficulties of the counting have been in large part obviated by the development of a balloting machine to do most of the work, but the company that manufactures it is so overwhelmed with orders just now that it will probably not be possible to equip New York City completely by the next election.

TELEVISION moved appreciably nearer public reality during the week ending November 8. On Monday of that week the British Broadcasting Company began its first regularly scheduled series of telecasts (a new word obviously wants to be born, and this seems to be the form it is taking) from its headquarters in London. The B.B.C. will use the Baird and Marconi systems alternately and these well established firm names in Great Britain mask the fact that it actually is American television that is being adopted around the world. Marconi has a cross-licensing agreement with Radio Corporation of America and its iconoscope, while Baird is allied with Farnsworth Television Laboratories, Inc., and utilizes the Farnsworth dissector tube, or television camera. Both Farnsworth and R.C.A. use electrically scanned television, and Farnsworth makes strong claims of being the first to develop such a system, with resultant basic patents in this field. It is entirely possible that a patent fight of major proportions may develop, and many observers cite this as one factor now delaying the public advent of television. Meanwhile, on November 6, the National Broadcasting Company, as program-producing subsidiary of R.C.A., brought television out of the laboratory and gave a demonstration for the press of programs actually produced in its own studios in Radio City and broadcast by its transmitter on top of the Empire State Building. The images, though small (the largest were seven and one-half by ten inches) were of such clarity and quality and the program was run with such smoothness as to make television seem a very genuine possibility for general release within the next year.

WE PUBLISH with this issue a special supplement dealing with the relations between Professor Jerome Davis and Yale University. It is an interesting footnote to this document to know that the Student Council of the Yale Divinity School some months ago investigated the Davis case, after which a meeting of the entire student body of the School

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decided unanimously to protest Dr. Davis' dismissal. The report of the four professors, which we publish, was seen in advance of publication by Professor S. Ralph Harlow, chairman of the Department of Religion at Smith College, who desires to associate himself with the conclusions reached by the authors. It has also been seen by the committee on academic freedom in the colleges of the American Federation of Teachers, which announces that the conclusions set forth are confirmed by its own independent investigation. The report of Dr. Beard and his colleagues was submitted to the American Association of University Professors some weeks ago. On the face of the facts, there seems no doubt that a complete investigation by the A.A.U.P. is greatly to be desired.

An International Program for Democracies

FOR MONTHS international coöperation has been developing among the fascist nations, intent upon enlarging their power, their prestige, even their territory, by force and threats of force. In the face of this challenge the democratic and pacific peoples have been vacillating and irresolute, surrendering position after position, losing adherents among the smaller states, and feeling their own self-confidence seep away. But two things have happened to invigorate their courage—the successful devaluation of the franc by the People's Front in France, accompanied by the agreement with Great Britain and the United States to prevent sharp currency fluctuations, and the overwhelming triumph in the American election of President Roosevelt, who is regarded throughout the world as a champion of progressive democracy.

Both these events are good omens, but they will amount to little more than that if those concerned wait for the gods to make the fortunate prophecies come true. It is necessary to weld these events into a more ambitious structure—a structure that will unite and fortify the democratic cultures against fascist threat. How may this be done? In order to answer this question, even tentatively and vaguely, one must first sense the major strategy involved.

The principal strength of the fascist states is military, their principal weakness is economic. They sacrifice everything else to the creation of an armed state, a disciplined population, a modern war machine. With this equipment they seek political ends; with it they bully others into retreat. But in Germany it means eating cannon instead of butter. Italy likewise lacks natural resources of many kinds, which a dozen Ethiopias could not give her. Both nations cherish the myth that they can gain the necessary resources by conquest—or at least by acquisition of territory, through wielding of their power to inflict pain upon the "satisfied nations." Meanwhile, however, they must scrimp and draw in their belts even to acquire the necessary food for the fiery maw of the military Baal.

The situation of the democracies is just the contrary. Though they can raise and equip great armies, navies and air fleets, they are not well conditioned for the use of power politics. The overwhelming desire of their peoples for peace and prosperity limits their ability to outface the dictators in the game of military racketeering. But they are in a position, if they will, to enjoy the compensatory advantages to be derived from this less perfect concentration on the task of piling up instruments of destruction. They control greater resources, their finances are more ample, they can trade more freely with one another and encourage the production of things necessary for comfortable living. Above all, with their democratic systems and their possibility of producing more plenty in both material and cultural realms, they have the opportunity to create a far more normal and widely shared psychic satisfaction among their populations. Strain and repression must in the end weaken the Germans, Italians and Austrians far more than need be the case with the English, Americans and French. Even in the Soviet Union, in spite of its huge armament and its obsessive fears, there is a continual approach to an economy of abundance.

The opportunity before the democracies, then, is not so much to oppose military force or alliances to fascist threats as to create a successful system of their own that may serve as a striking contrast to the ever worsening plight of the populations under fascist dictatorships. This system, both through its economic power and its cultural supremacy, may wean away the smaller states upon which the militarists are counting, it may raise doubts in increasing numbers of Hitler's and Mussolini's followers, and if war finally does come, it will immensely strengthen the democracies' powers of resistance. But in order to forestall war, the spokesmen of democracy, while creating their system, can continually say to their opponents: join us instead of arming against us and you may receive like benefits. Cease concentrating upon nationalistic militarism and you can trade with us and our colonies as we do among ourselves, and thus you may solve your problems without the huge waste of a war of conquest. The decision is yours.

How could a more successful democratic economy be created? The first steps are easy to see—perfection of the monetary agreement (and that does not mean going back to a full international gold standard, with exchange rates fixed for all time), removal of quota restrictions on trade, reduction of protective tariffs, substitution of general trade treaties for bilateral barter agreements. International cartels restricting output and keeping prices up should also be discouraged. Scaling down of all barriers tending to restrict production and exchange is thus the necessary beginning.

This would be difficult enough. It is regarded by many not only as the beginning but also as the end

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of good policy. Liberal democracy is pictured going back to its happy childhood dream of international laissez-faire. The fact that the effort to do so would be made in a period of recovery throughout the world might temporarily give an illusion of success. Nevertheless progress would be slow, and the barriers removed would be created the moment business decline or other economic stress put private interests and pressure groups on the defensive. "Free" competition, without governmental intervention, quickly creates the conditions for its own destruction. Removal of existing barriers ought to be regarded as clearing the ground of an antique and ramshackle structure so that a better one may be erected.

Hints of this new structure exist in the expansive policies implicit in parts of the Blum and Roosevelt programs, and in the long development of British economic policy under the impulse of labor. Increase of popular purchasing power through higher wages or lower prices, especially where technical advance and gains in productivity occur most rapidly; shorter hours where these are unduly long; social insurance; increased opportunities for education; better handling of unemployment; public enterprise to supply needs long neglected by private business, as in low-cost housing, rural electrification and conservation; control of credit and planning of public works with an eye to smoothing out the business cycle—all these, if intelligently conceived and administered, are capable of expanding production and consumption in the respective countries concerned. And that expansion must be the foundation of any sound development of international trade. For nothing is more certain than that nations which always want to sell abroad more than they buy abroad will descend into economic warfare, and that this warfare will become acute when domestic consumption falls or fails to increase enough while productive capacity grows.

Partial planning of this sort would not permanently banish the disasters that are chronic under capitalism, but they would help to supply a breathing spell. If continued in the Western nations, they would make things easier even for the Soviet Union, with her genuine socialist economy. And when domestic planning for abundance was well enough advanced, a planned international trade could be developed—a trade planned by public agencies to increase the desired goods and services available to the populations of the various countries rather than a trade planned as at present in the interest of restricting output for the benefit of profit-seeking producers.

Assuming that substantial progress were made in this difficult job, what compact could be made with Mussolini and Hitler? International bankers are thinking now in terms, first of bringing Germany into the circle of devaluated currencies, then of granting her a loan, which she badly needs. But such a superficial program would be pure folly. The loan would be used to increase armaments. Germany and Italy could not be real members of such a system unless they renounced their militaristic and nationalistic policies, gave credible assurances of armament limitation and a cessation of aggressiveness, and showed signs of developing internally the same kind of trend toward an economy of abundance of useful goods and services which is here recommended for the democracies. The peaceable nations cannot afford to open to the fascist states the resources that they control so long as these resources are to be used for world suicide. Nor would the fascist peoples be able to make use of access to the resources without complete alteration of the objectives now sought by their suicidal national economies.

The Maritime Strike

THE MARITIME strike brought American shipping to a standstill on the Pacific Coast and seriously crippled it on the Atlantic and Gulf, while the shipowners expressed great concern over the hardships that the public might suffer. It is therefore perhaps worth pointing out that the strike could with great ease have been avoided. For it is only in this light that the real meaning of the strike —the most extensive in maritime history—can properly be judged.

The issue that led to the strike did not involve the question of unreasonable union demands—demands that might conceivably bankrupt the shipping lines, were they to yield. Quite on the contrary, the minimum demands of the maritime unions were extremely moderate. They were willing to continue negotiations for a new agreement (to replace the one that expired on September 30), provided the organized shipowners agreed to three simple conditions: (1) continuance of the union hiring halls which have been in operation during the past two years; (2) an eight-hour day within a spread of twelve hours for marine cooks and stewards; and (3) overtime pay in cash, rather than time off, for seamen. The unions offered to leave all other matters affecting increased wages and improved working conditions to future discussions. Certainly it is difficult to see anything extreme in these requests, or anything that the shipping lines could not easily have afforded to grant. Some of them are now enjoying their most profitable operations and all of them are lining up to share in the $100,000,000 subsidies that the government is about to hand out.

It is a matter of common knowledge, however, that the shipowners had little interest or desire to preserve peace. They made this evident by their preposterous demand that the unions submit all questions—including that of union recognition—to arbitration. They wanted abolition of the union hiring halls and, though their profits have been mounting, they proposed wage cuts. In brief, they asked the maritime workers to give up the vital gains that had been won in the bitter 1934 strike. As a last-minute gesture of generosity, to be sure, they offered to renew the agreement of the long-

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shoremen alone, but the longshoremen were wise enough to see that this was but a device to divide and conquer.

What the shipping interests wanted, plainly enough, was a showdown fight with the Maritime Federation. For it is through this Federation that the longshoremen and marine workers have been able to consolidate their victory of 1934 and enforce the working conditions established in the arbitration award which ended that strike. The shipowners have repeatedly tried to violate the terms of the award, but the united front of the Maritime Federation has, on the whole, been an effective weapon of enforcement. The strength of the Federation was felt in another way. It stimulated labor organization up and down the Pacific Coast, and the maritime workers became the spearhead of militant, progressive unionism. Obviously the destruction of the Federation would mean a serious defeat for labor not merely on the waterfront, but inland as well, a result that the financial forces behind shipping would welcome nearly as much.

When the showdown came, there is reason to believe that it was somewhat more than the shipowners bargained for. To begin with, the strike has spread to the Atlantic and Gulf ports, regions that were supposedly under the safe control of reactionary union leaders. The seamen in these ports at first merely initiated "sit-down" strikes in sympathy with the Pacific Coast strike. The response to this movement was so broad and spontaneous that it quickly grew into a general strike of maritime workers on the Atlantic and Gulf, and while this strike was not yet 100-percent effective, it threatened to become so. It is clear that the old-line officials of the International Seamen's Union have lost control of their membership. More than 200 ships, it is estimated, were tied up and some 16,000 men were out. The discredited union officials declared the strike "illegal" and bent every effort to supply the lines with strikebreakers, even to the point of hiring known criminals through notorious strikebreaking detective agencies. A few ships sailed, but short-handed and with crews of doubtful competency.

The Eastern steamship lines, though apparently not perturbed about hiring inexperienced crews, accused the seamen of violating an agreement and of jeopardizing public safety. What they neglected to point out in their statements was the fact that the agreement under which the seamen were working was signed by union officials after it had been overwhelmingly repudiated in a referendum vote. Its terms are inferior to those on the Pacific Coast. The marine workers, quite understandably, have demanded in their general strike that their working conditions should be on a parity with the settlement to be arrived at on the West Coast.

It is too early to predict the outcome of these various conflicting forces, but it is hardly too soon to comment on the absurdity of entrusting a vital public service to private entrepreneurs who have shown themselves to be so callous toward social responsibility. The absurdity is merely heightened by the fact that the shipowners are able to stay in business only by virtue of the enormous subsidies—they have run to several hundred million dollars over the past decade—from the government. This money is intended, in part, to provide decent working conditions for the marine workers, but they have always been notoriously mistreated and underpaid. Only through organization have they been able to obtain a small share of the money they were entitled to. The shipping officials, on the other hand, have done fairly well by themselves. Between 1923 and 1932, for example, four executives of the Dollar line piled up a grand total in salaries, bonuses and profits of $14,690,528. During this period the earnings of maritime workers were extremely depressed, going in some cases as low as $10 a week.

It is difficult to see why such an important service as that of the merchant marine, which exists only by the use of taxpayers' money, should be left in the hands of men who cannot or will not keep step with modern ideas of industrial relations. Managers whose salaries are drawn from the public purse should not forget that service to that public comes ahead of personal prejudices in the handling of labor problems. If they must call upon the government to protect the "public," as they are now doing in their request for skeleton crews from the navy, it would perhaps be better if the government took complete control and relieved them of the responsibility entirely.

The Press Loses the Election

ON THE eve of the election a writer in The New Republic pointed out that a victory for Mr. Roosevelt would constitute a serious blow to the prestige of many important American newspaper publishers, who were fighting him by fair means or foul, but mostly the latter. The election result justifies the prediction, and it is evident that the publishers are themselves frightened at the possibilities.

Mr. W. R. Hearst, who called the President every name he could think of, including a reference to "you and your fellow communists," has suddenly found out that Mr. Roosevelt may after all be a reincarnation of Andrew Jackson. In Editor and Publisher, the ably edited trade journal of the business, there appear in the first post-election issue two articles suggesting, with an undertone of apprehension, that we should let bygones be bygones; that hysteria and exaggerated attack are customary in political campaigns; that people have gone against the publishers' advice before, and that this year's situation was no worse than usual. There is also a denial, without any statistical evidence, of the estimate made by Miss Betty Millard in The New

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Masses, that the circulation of the Landon papers exceeded that of the Roosevelt journals by fourteen millions to seven.

Since the public memory is notoriously short, and the public attitude on the whole good-natured, it is likely that the publishers' wish will at least in part come true. Before the matter passes into oblivion, however, there are a few points through which a pin might be stuck. It is well to remember the gleeful overemphasis in the Hearst press, The Chicago Tribune, the Paul Block papers and others like them, on the false charge of radicalism, the false charge about social-security taxes, the false charge that Mr. Roosevelt had called himself "the master" of the country. It is well to remember that when Secretary Ickes made a speech specifically attacking the untruths in the Chicago press about the Roosevelt campaign, most of these papers showed their bad sportsmanship by suppressing his remarks. Time magazine quotes The Chicago Tribune as saying Mr. Roosevelt "planned and abetted" the banking panic of 1933 in order to bring about revolution and dictatorship. When an investigation showed vice conditions in two Wisconsin cities, The Tribune put on the article the choice headline "Roosevelt Area in Wisconsin Is Hot-Bed of Vice." In the course of one week during the campaign, the President's name appeared on the front page of The Tribune only once. On one day he was left out of the paper entirely, and on another there were only a few lines on page 13.

Mr. Hearst is among those who bank most heavily on the short memory of the American people. In his papers on the day after the election appeared an editorial which said: "If Mr. Roosevelt is a good President, if he is a Democratic President, if he is an American President, the Hearst newspapers will support him again. . . ." In view of the fact that the Hearst papers, after hitting below the belt every day for many months, have just been repudiated in the most overwhelming landslide in political history, the impudence of such an attempted bargain with the President leaves one breathless.

Mr. Hearst's effrontery is the more surprising if one knows that some of his papers have been losing badly in circulation in recent months, presumably because of his attitude toward the President. In Chicago, for example, one of his papers has lost 39,000 readers in a year. The other one has barely held its own. The one Chicago paper that supported the President, The Chicago Times, which eighteen months ago had a circulation of 182,000, skyrocketed up to an average of 402,934 during the week of the election. In New York City one Hearst paper in the last year has lost 5,000, and another 10,000, in the face of large gains by all other papers and, in the case of The New York Post, the most energetic supporter of the President, the astonishing increase of 73,000. In San Francisco, one Hearst paper lost slightly and another gained 1,000, while two competitors were chalking up increases of 6,000 and 9,000. In Pittsburgh, a rival gained 6,000 more than did the Hearst paper; in Detroit, the same thing was true, with a gain of 3,000 more. The Hearst paper in Milwaukee lost 8,000 while one competitor gained 5,000 and another, 18,000. In Washington, a competitor gained 5,000 more than one Hearst paper and 4,000 more than the other. Mr. Hearst is in no position to dictate terms to Mr. Roosevelt, or to anybody else. It would be more accurate to say that he is fighting for his life.

We do not need to look at the whole country to see how completely, in this election, the voters ignored the advice of the press. In New York City, Mr. Landon had five papers out of eight, yet the President carried the city overwhelmingly. In Boston, 66 percent of the press was pro-Landon, and the rest was neutral, and Mr. Roosevelt swept the city and the state. In Chicago, the Republican candidate had five-sixths of the total circulation, and Mr. Roosevelt exceeded his record-breaking 1932 plurality of 248,000, and carried the state by three-quarters of a million.

The publishers will say in their defense, of course, that the popular verdict was only against their editorial pages, which have long been losing influence. It is true that many papers which fought Mr. Roosevelt nevertheless reported the Democratic news fully and fairly. But in our judgment, the popular verdict was far more serious than merely another vote against a decaying editorial page. We believe it has sunk into the popular consciousness that the publishers opposed Mr. Roosevelt, not merely as American citizens, but as wealthy taxpayers, as individuals opposed for business reasons to the child-labor amendment, the wage and hour provisions of the N.R.A., and to the Wagner Labor Relations Act. We believe this popular indictment is correct, and that as long as it holds, there will be little reality to any discussion, by wealthy publishers, of the freedom of the press. It seems to us high time for them to take stock of their position and ask themselves whether their present policies are not gravely endangering their property.

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T.V.A. Faces the Future

NOW THAT it has battled and builded and won, accomplishment is chalked up for the T.V.A. It has arrived, has taken its place, and will remain. Millions of little soldiers, the fastest on earth, *la Grande Armée des Voltes*, march forth on wires, wriggle into the homes of thousands and attack the job of cooking, keeping the family warm and lighting up the place.

The T.V.A. enters 1937 as an outstanding success of the administration. Honest conservatives who can add two and two are satisfied. Per-month gross generation power has jumped from 44,500,000 to 112,000,000 kilowatts. Where Wilson Dam had one grudging, monopolistic customer—the Commonwealth and Southern—the Authority now has some two dozen satisfied ones, including cooperatives and municipally owned lighting systems. Farmers constitute 62 percent of the ultimate consumers. For—and these words underestimate the situation—the T.V.A. and its national implications are colossal, stupendous, mighty, great. Let us take it up to date, therefore, and discuss its faults first. Here are four of them:

First: The atmosphere is—I cannot express myself exactly, since I am only a congressman, and therefore lack the cultural and scientific knowledge possessed by some of the T.V.A.'ers. But the air is somewhat rarefied, and I am sure I heard the swishing of long wings and saw Green Pastures and De Lawd (Morgan).

Second: Connected with this impersonal atmosphere is the matter of attitude, which is personal. It is, that all "politicians" have red tails and work in sordid surroundings just as T.V.A.'ers have wings and work in Green Pastures; these judgments to include their best political friends. In this they violently differ from the du Ponts, for the du Ponts sanctify all who agree with them. There are, however, certain similarities, in that they believe "the government should not meddle with business"—not, at least, with the T.V.A.

The personnel department, despising politics and politicians, is not altogether against a little *internal* politics. Woe be to him who applies for a job with the endorsement of a Congressman or Senator. The directors have little comprehension of the political mind; and the personnel department, wholly inexperienced in dealing with the politicos, writes unnecessarily sharp letters.

Third: "The Morgan-Lilienthal Feud." Leaving aside the trivialities, it seems that King Arthur Morgan of the Round Table wants all the Utility Knights, good and bad, public and private, to sit around and make goo-goo eyes at each other. Little Dave Lilienthal wants to slay the Power Goliath, and possibly to kick the whole table over.

Fourth: The office in Washington is a detriment to the T.V.A. It is a poor contact office and its members, save the publicity department, should be emptied forthwith into the Potomac.

None of these specified weaknesses means that the T.V.A. is badly managed. Far from it; it is one of the best managed big businesses, public or private, in America. The personnel department has employed excellent men, but has insulted practically everyone that the U.S. mails could reach. Chairman Arthur Morgan, David Lilienthal and Harcourt Morgan are personally incorruptible, anxious to serve the country, and very able. For the work in hand the engineers, foresters, soil experts, lawyers, skilled and common laborers of all kinds constitute a force equal, and probably superior, to any other such force in the history of America.

Stupidity—(and now I speak of mankind's and not the T.V.A.'s)—is the worst foe of human progress. For there are citizens who, having a general idea that the T.V.A. may lessen the value of a stock or bond, are willing to put in jeopardy the whole great program without further investigation. But if I am any judge of public opinion, the vast majority of the American people want the T.V.A.

Let us look at the Act, and review some of the results of the past three and a half years:

Dams and Dams

The Act provides for dams to be built in the Tennessee River and its tributaries. From Paducah to Knoxville—648 river miles—a nine-foot channel for navigation is to be created. Storage dams in tributaries will hold back surplus water during heavy water periods and release that water when dry months come.

Building of dams has proceeded successfully; a study of the map will disclose the whole plan. They represent a coördinated system of flood control that actually works, of navigation now being used, but capable of great development. Army engineers, unbiased and non-political, believe that all this is not only feasible but essential. The dams are not just to sit there and wrestle with floods.

Power

The dams will also furnish, and do furnish, power; and this is the focal point of the battle. For private business is always willing for the government to stop a flood—but when these flood waters are utilized for the purpose of paying for the dam by selling cheap service to the American people who built it, a cry goes up of interfering with "private business." In any event, the Act reads ". . . to

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provide and operate facilities for the generation of electric energy in order to avoid the waste of water power, to transmit and market. . . ."

Electricity produced is now going into construction projects, municipalities and county coöperatives, and some to private power companies. The municipalities will soon number sixteen, cooperatives thirteen, and there are now five temporary connections. Power comes from Wilson (wartime) Dam. There is a 230-mile transmission line connecting it with Wheeler and Norris Dams, from which latter power is also produced. The T.V.A. is serving private industry; last year the Commonwealth and its subsidiaries bought $588,000 worth; Alabama now cries for more.

Soil Conservation

Soil conservation is here used in the sense of conserving natural resources—soil, water, trees and vegetation in general. This wide program has been evolved out of the part of the original Act which instructs the T.V.A. to improve and cheapen the production of fertilizers, and to provide demonstrations and tests in coöperation with government agencies and the public. This was because of the wartime nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals.

With this as a starter, and principally because of the knowledge of Dr. Harcourt Morgan (who was president of the University of Tennessee), the idea has been expanded. With a basic and thorough knowledge of the need for phosphorus, and the realization that it must be available to farmers if the land is not to be washed into the sea, an intelligently integrated program is under way.

The T.V.A. is making and experimenting in concentrated fertilizer from phosphate-bearing rock. The farmers of the country need 20,000,000 tons of this fertilizer each year. Only 2,000,000 are being used. Methods of the T.V.A. will lead to the wide development of other sources.

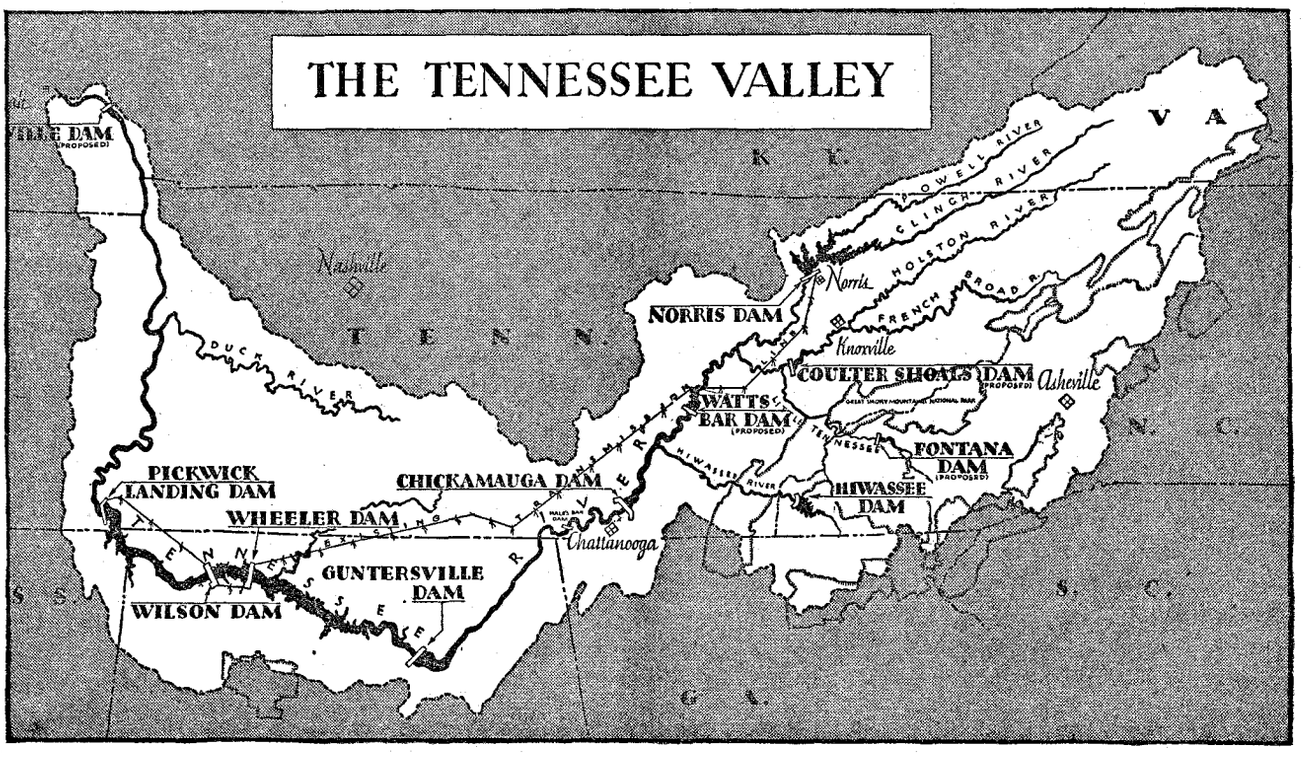
This use of fertilizer and the growth of cover crops work in with the protection of little waters. Water is slowed down and is clearer; this fits into the scheme of huge dams. Areas unfit for cultivation are being reforested with seedlings grown in three T.V.A. nurseries. C.C.C. boys treat eroded land. Land-grant colleges, the Department of Agriculture and the Resettlement Administration do their part. Finally, farmers individually and in clubs (collectively, my friend) are farming to save the soil, slow the water, prevent floods—and make better crops. This program makes the Seven State Valley look like a different place.

I have lately talked with workers of all kinds in the T.V.A. Many never worked on any similar project, being residents of eastern Tennessee; they take it almost as religion and consider themselves improved. Others who worked in great private projects point to the T.V.A.'s better housing, decent conditions, sanitation, educational and other opportunities. There are no accumulations of tear-gas bombs and private artillery; no strikes, no shutdowns, no trouble.

These all point to certain facts:

1. Power can be produced, transmitted and sold by the government as well as by private endeavor, just as letters can be transmitted, agricultural stations operated and armies and navies moved by the government. The T.V.A. is an ordinary endeavor of ordinary American people, conducted by themselves, in behalf of themselves.

2. Natural resources are the basis of our lives, whether we live in the city or in the country, and the T.V.A. has shown the way.



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3. Good pay, efficient housing and decent treatment of labor keep the peace. In the great engineering works, unit costs have been cut and in many instances made cheaper than similar work under private auspices.

4. It is possible to develop a non-political civil service, based altogether on merit. This will build permanence and a high standard of efficiency.

5. Considered as a whole, the T.V.A. is not an "experiment." It is a part of American life; it is here; it will stay.

All these operations which I have tried to analyze are being conducted under the most difficult conditions. Fighting great odds against fifty-grand lawyers and unsympathetic courts, they battle on. Here and there the private utilities rush their crews like invading armies, to erect spite lines in order to have claim of prior occupancy, as miners did in the gold-rush days. To this threat the T.V.A. marches out its pioneers, to save a right-of-way in their own country, for their own people. This is a dramatic and rather thrilling phase.

But the battle is being won; you see dams, transmission lines, municipal utilities, better farming, stoves, electrical appliances, all as a practical part of normal human life. People begin to regard electricity—which comes from water—as quite as fundamental as the water itself. Just as in the development of rural towns in America, where first people had their own wells or hauled the water, but gradually developed municipal water systems—so now cities are doing the same with electricity and getting it from the big T.V.A. reservoir. The farmer insists that he be included too.

The program of the T.V.A. has brought to the people of this nation the consciousness that its essential benefits are obtainable by coöperative, or government, endeavor. Further, all this is becoming an actual part of the economic and legal set-up of the nation—to such an extent that schools, roads, water in cities, post offices are accepted as a part of everyday living. And should the T.V.A. be held by some court to be "unconstitutional" or "against the law," the people would feel just as if their other institutions were taken from them. It would be like telling them the roads and bridges were no longer theirs, that their children could not get an elementary education, that the army was to be sold to the Hessians, the navy to Lafitte—and that, as a matter of fact, the United States of America itself is void, unconstitutional, and must fold up.

Recently, believers in public ownership, ordinary citizens, have been having chills and fever over the T.V.A. "power pool." All is lost, they have said, and contracts have been or will be written which choke the life out of the T.V.A. or any similar enterprise. For those who care to relax, it is well to know that the meeting at the White House adopted no agreements, announced no policies. The flag of the T.V.A. is still flying and no one has sold out.

What is the consumer's interest in the case of the T.V.A.? It gave lower or better rates and better conditions. Moreover, the T.V.A. has made the only appreciable dent that has ever been made in the matter of rates charged for electricity. It did this, not by contract, not by "pooling," not by paper policies, but by getting out into the field with the only yardstick American business recognizes, the yardstick of competition.

Is this yardstick-in-action to be thrown overboard? How is the pool to fix rates to the consumer? If the private companies are to have the advantages in generation resulting from the government's huge hydro-electric investment, how are those advantages going to be passed along to the consumer, and nailed down so the courts won't later take them away?

Let the T.V.A. and similar enterprises tell the world that they stand: (1) for government ownership, and (2) for directing any pool in which the government might have any interest whatever. The T.V.A. would like to coöperate if it could, does not want to destroy any investment, but certainly does not like to be double-crossed.

There is no rush about getting into this power pool. Let us take our time, of which we will have plenty. In the meantime possibly the utilities will learn, as they did in Sweden, that the government is a force to be reckoned with—then we may wade in. For the T.V.A. has been established upon a rock, and nothing shall prevail against it.

MAURY MAVERICK.

Master and Man

The yellow ears are crammed in Mr. Cromartie's bin.
The wheat is tight sacked in Mr. Cromartie's barn.
The timothy is stuffed in Mr. Cromartie's loft.
The ploughs are lined up in Mr. Cromartie's shed.
The cotton has gone to Mr. Cromartie's factor.
The money is in Mr. Cromartie's bank.
Mr. Cromartie's son made his frat at the college.
Mr. Cromartie's daughter has got her new car.
The veranda is cold, but the fireplace is rosy.
Well done, Mr. Cromartie. Time now for rest.

Blackened sticks line the furrows that Uncle Ned laid.
Bits of fluff are in the corners where Uncle Ned ginned.
The mules he ploughed are sleek in Mr. Cromartie's pastures.
The hoes grow dull in Mr. Cromartie's shed.
His winter rations wait on the commissary shelves;
Mr. Cromartie's ledger is there for his service.
Uncle Ned daubs some mortar between the old logs.
His children have traipsed off to God knows where.
His old lady sits patching the old, thin denims;
She's got a new dress, and his young one a doll,
He's got his five dollars. The year has come round.
The harvest is over: Uncle Ned's harvesting,
Mr. Cromartie's harvest. Time now for rest.

STERLING A. BROWN.

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Pacifism: Its Rise and Fall

I AM OLD enough to remember back to the days before there was any widespread pacifist movement in America. I can also recall the following period of the bright hopeful years when many people really believed that through pure "conscientious objection" war might finally be abolished. In the recent past I have seen such hopes disappear from the minds of all except the lunatic fringe of incorrigible optimism.

Some years before 1914, I used to meet the American peace movement in my daily walks about the campus of Stanford University, where I was a student. Its name was David Starr Jordan, who based his opposition to war on the fairly solid biological ground that when the best potential fathers of the rising generation were slaughtered on the battlefield, the result was a deterioration of the human stock. At that time, nobody except Dr. Jordan got much excited about this, because everyone believed that another war was all but impossible: the international bankers would prevent it, and anyhow, all the nations involved would run out of money in the first six weeks. . . . Then came the two war years during which the advocacy of pacifist principles was a penitentiary offense, and thereafter, the twenties, the golden age of the pacifist movement in this country. Millions of earnest and worthy clubwomen heard thousands of speeches by orators who held that war is a bad thing, and the good ladies, listening attentively, passed cubic yards of resolutions in favor of peace. A great many respectable and intelligent individuals actually thought at that time that war could be abolished by a spontaneous rising of the masses against it, a rising actuated by moral indignation over its cruelty, its horror, its incredible waste and folly. Such uprisings, they believed, were most of all likely in the European countries where the war experience had been recent and terrible.

All sensible people have today abandoned these happy dreams. The League of Nations, which formed an important part of them, has lost much of its prestige, especially through its failure to do anything about Japan in China or Italy in Ethiopia. We have learned by bitter experience that the population of any country can have its emotional attitude nurtured and shaped by a skillful, ruthless government to any end the rulers may desire. Conceivably, this end might be peace but in practice it has thus far always been war. The one country that we might suppose would feel most vividly the agony and uselessness of armed conflict would be shattered, bankrupt Germany; but Hitler with a turn of his wrist has taught a whole generation to believe that war is almost a good thing in itself and certainly a good thing if it helps the Fatherland. Italy, too, has suffered; yet the Italians, fundamentally the same human beings as all the rest of us, have not only been taught to approve of fighting in general, but have been led to condone (and, most of them, not merely with lip service but sincerely) what is almost the worst assault on a virtually helpless native population in the world's history. Japan, too, has known what a major modern war is like; many thousands of the men who were old enough to fight against Russia are less than fifty years of age today; yet militarist aggression is the dominant spirit in the whole Japanese population as the world moves into the year 1937 of—God save the mark! —the "Christian" era.

During the twenties, as I have suggested, there was a short and brilliant false dawn when it really seemed possible that international disarmament by agreement of the governments might prove possible. The United States, coming out of the War comparatively rich and strong, proposed to the bankrupt empires a halt in naval building and the maintenance of fixed ratios of strength, and compelled the acceptance of the plan by threatening a program of its own with which no other nation could have competed. But it was a false dawn only; today every naval treaty is dead or dying; every country is arming on land and sea at a rate unparalleled in history. Only a month ago the American Secretary of the Navy in a press interview announced that the United States will build fortifications in the Pacific to match those of any other power—"any other power" meaning Japan. One of the bitterest disillusionments of the past few years has been the realization that the dream of gradual disarmament has no present basis in reality.

The most that the pacifist movement in any one country can do is to cause the armament program in that country to lag by a few months or years behind the general standard. In only two important nations has even that result been possible—Great Britain and the United States. The British government is now trying desperately to overcome what it describes as such a lag, with the passive acquiescence of almost the entire population. Whether a lag of this sort exists in America, and if so, whether the fact is regrettable from any point of view, it is impossible to say. The geographical position of the United States is so completely one of unique isolation, its interest in the clash of imperialisms in Europe and Asia so faint and fictitious, that many sensible students of the subject believe there is no need, even in this craziest of worlds, for an American military establishment going beyond strictly and literally defensive preparations within our own continental borders.

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The ironic fact is that the danger of war looms today in a world where the genuine fundamental causes of war are understood as they have never been before. Fifteen years ago those of us who insisted that the most important of these causes were economic, and were symptoms of the dying stage of exploitive private capitalism, were voices piping feebly in a wilderness. Today, even the political leaders of the chief powers—always the last people in the world to admit a truth or say anything sensible—concede most of this indictment in their public utterances, even though they draw the unjustified conclusion that the cure of all imperialist struggle is to create still more empires, and to inaugurate their competition on somewhat more even terms. The world's position is that of a man who has long known he was ill, and has now discovered the disease is cancer: the correct diagnosis does not make his plight any less severe. There was never a more vivid illustration of the fact that the truth does not always make us free. It can do so only when it is really "known," is accessible to the general masses throughout all countries.

To say all this is not, certainly, to say that we should abandon ourselves to the counsels of despair. There is every reason to believe that the world's cancer is curable, if humanity in the long run shows the courage, persistence and ingenuity to face and conquer the disease. It will require, to be sure, alterations in the structure of society so far-reaching and novel that they might well cause us to abandon hope if the alternative to them were not so appalling. It now seems probable that these alterations will involve an enormous degree of national and international control of men's activities: impartial allocation, by an international authority, of world-wide raw materials and foreign markets; control of the size of population in every quarter of the globe; in the intellectual and emotional field the leading of men's minds away from the narrow superstitions of national or racial superiority into a recognition that all mankind is very much of a piece, that we are all steaming through space on the same comparatively small ship and that we must finally manage to get along together or none of us will get along at all. In this connection, Soviet Russia is giving the world an important object lesson in the possibilities of peace. Although the presence of implacable and aggressive enemies on her borders, east and west, compels her still to maintain a large military establishment, all competent, impartial experts are agreed that of herself, she constitutes no threat to peace—the only great power of which this is true. She will not commit aggression because, among other reasons, no living soul within her borders would benefit from aggression.

In the United States, in particular, and at the present moment, there is enormous scope for an intelligent peace movement: in creating a wider understanding of the war danger, in opposing adventures of our capitalists abroad of the sort that are likely to embroil us, in resisting the fantastic demands of our militarists, who, if not opposed, would certainly spend 90 percent of our income on their ugly toys, in working out the bases for maintaining American neutrality in case of a European or Asiatic war in which we are not involved, in expressing those bases through stronger neutrality legislation than is now on the statute books. The task is by no means hopeless; it calls for action; and to that call there is a response, particularly of youth, important both for size and earnestness.

The greatest mistake that has been made by what might be called the religious pacifists, those who refused to condone or participate in violence at any time and under any circumstances, was the assumption that the choice was between bright, happy peace and going out to needless slaughter against a foreign foe. But that is not the choice presented to millions of people in several countries and perhaps soon to be offered in other lands to many millions more. It is not the choice, for example, that was offered last summer to the working masses in Spain. Their alternatives were armed resistance to enemies within their own population, or the acceptance of slavery to a government established to maintain by force an unjust and unworkable economic system. (True, in the case of Spain, foreign enemies participated in the fight; but their doing so was not a typical part of the pattern: it has not been so in Germany or Italy or Hungary or Japan.) The believer in non-resistance today simply plays into the hands of the Nietzcheans; if a fascist tyranny is coming, he makes its arrival the easier, and abates not at all the subsequent torture of the dissidents. After the catastrophe, his children, like all others, will have their minds subjected to the always successful mass poisoning, the brutal regimentation by which dictatorships keep themselves in power. His own offspring will turn against him and he will see his pacifist doctrine die with the little dwindling groups of aging men in the concentration camps.

Many thousands of young men in England and America have taken, in one version or another, the Oxford Oath that under no circumstances will they "fight for king and country." If I interpret them correctly, they do not mean that they are prepared, if worst comes to worst, to fold their hands meekly, be trussed up and thrown on the bonfire of triumphant, savage Nazism. They mean that they are not willing to go out and be slaughtered, as 10,000,000 other young men were slaughtered twenty years ago, in a senseless, idiotic war, a war that is a mere blind tropism, responding to the impulses long ago created by a world order that is no longer valid. I do not believe that the attitude of these young men—and the young women whose sacrifice in war would be almost or quite as heavy—means they consider non-resistance the ultimate and only good which, thrown into the balance, outweighs the

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claim of a decent society, ruled by reason and not by force, a society based first of all on the rights of common men and women to live out their normal lives in peace and security and to bring up their children to equal peace and security. The importance of the peace movement of youth in the United States is to me the evidence it gives of a growing awareness among many thousands of young Americans of the problems by which their adult life is confronted, their increasing realization that a world fit to live in may require of them desperate sacrifice before it is attained. BRUCE BLIVEN.

Consumer Coöperation and Labor

PROPAGANDA for consumer coöperation always seems to be tinged with a sweet aroma of optimism. While capitalism is admitted to be the cause of society's pains, we are assured that the only sensible, certain cure is the widespread development of coöperatives according to the Rochdale principles. These units will gradually encroach upon the spheres occupied by private enterprises, will tie knots one by one in the tentacles of the capitalist octopus (as Fowler intimates in his recent book on the subject) and in some miraculous (but always unsensational) manner will achieve the Cooperative Commonwealth without really hurting anybody very much.

Thus, the long sought "middle way" seems to present itself. Americans, grown wary of isms and weary of Americanism, have been taking in increasing numbers to consumer coöperation—a European idea which cannot be ism-ized without excessive linguistic awkwardness. So President Roosevelt, with his customary responsiveness to growing liberal trends, sent a commission of three to Europe last summer for the purpose of investigating the advisability, in the light of European experience, of encouraging the growth of consumer coöperatives in America on a larger scale. The commission will soon be ready with its report. And, if advance newspaper accounts are any criterion, it will probably not only recommend limited stimulation of cooperatives in America, but will also assure anybody who might be annoyed by such a procedure that this would only supplement private business rather than supersede it—that, by exercising a stabilizing influence, it would ensure the continuation of the profit system.

Unfortunately, all this is likely to strike a rather unresponsive chord in labor circles. Churchmen and educators and intellectuals—even many farmers—may grasp at the idea with great enthusiasm, but to most workers it will probably seem unattractively hollow. The great majority of the working class, interested at present chiefly in obtaining speedy betterment of material conditions, will chafe at the confounded slowness of the whole process. And the small militantly radical section of the working class will tend to scoff at the ineffectiveness of this panacea in the face of modern conditions.

Yet in many ways this indifference on the part of labor would be regrettable. For consumer coöperation may, if directed along the proper channels, prove of distinct service to the labor movement. The writer had occasion during the past year to study the progress of the consumer-coöperative movement in all of the countries (except Finland) which President Roosevelt's commission has visited, and in the U.S.S.R. as well. This survey was made, however, with a different purpose: namely, to determine the relationship of consumer coöperatives to the ends that organized labor is striving to obtain.

In the first place, it must be made clear to would-be labor coöperators that they are entering a movement that, on the whole, lacks an explicit realization of the State's function. Superficially, this may seem to be a trivial matter devoid of practical consequences, but in reality it has had important effects upon the growth or decay of both the cooperative and the labor movement in Europe. It has, furthermore, proved that there is no "middle way" through consumer coöperation alone and by itself.

In almost every European country, hostile interests have encumbered and persecuted coöperatives through the mechanism of the State. Yet orthodox consumer coöperators are still loath to admit that their movement must take any definite stand in politics or that any permanent improvements can be obtained by other means than gradual economic infiltration. Unable or unwilling to comprehend the primary function of the State as an instrument of the class possessing the means of production and distribution and the necessity, therefore, of capturing or at least utilizing the State as one of the essentials of success, the consumer-coöperative movement has succumbed in many countries to forces that were neither so scrupulous nor so unrealistic as themselves.

In Italy, for instance, consumer coöperation still exists in form, but it has been completely remolded to bolster the Fascist State. In Germany, a strong but essentially neutral coöperative movement was in part coördinated and in part smashed when National Socialism took the helm. The Nazis, it will be recalled, gained considerable popular support from the small shopkeepers, and (rumor has it) they were not in great disfavor with big business—both vehement opponents of consumer coöperation. In Austria, the coöperative movement barely survived the tragic days of February, 1934, and is

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now struggling desperately to keep its head above the rising tide of fascism. In Poland, the coöperative movement has been heavily subsidized by powerful anti-Semitic elements for the purpose of crushing the Jewish merchant class. In other words, to speak inclusively and euphemistically, opposing forces have been rather successful in blocking the "middle way" in these authoritarian states.

Nor have consumer coöperatives been left to develop unmolested in the so-called democratic countries. The English movement, by far the strongest in the world, has been continually hounded by small shopkeepers and manufacturers as well as by big business interests. And this antagonism has manifested itself not only in virulent press campaigns and economic boycotts, but also by action in Parliament. The Finance Act of 1933 taxed coöperatives no less than $6,000,000 a year—and this despite the general knowledge that coöperative dividends are not really profits but merely convenient methods of cost accounting within a predominantly capitalistic economy. In France, the consumer-coöperative movement has been severely hampered since 1933 by the tax on profits and turnover which hostile interests applied to it. In little Switzerland the opposition of the middle class and small traders has been given political and legal expression by lumping together chain stores and coöperatives for the purpose of restricting expansion of multiple shops. The well developed Czechoslovakian movement has found that opponents—especially powerful monopolies like Unilever—like to wield political influence.

In more indirect fashion, chaotic capitalism has stunted the growth of consumer coöperation. One need only mention the case of Denmark, where the shortage of foreign exchange has deprived the cooperatives of many of their vital sources of supplies, to illustrate the deleterious effects of economic nationalism, with its restrictive and discriminatory marketing schemes, tariffs and production curtailments. Further examples might be cited *ad nauseam*.

To support any one political party involves a readiness to suffer when that party suffers. It must be remembered that consumer coöperatives have thus far been mainly working-class in composition, that they are avowedly aiming at the substitution of service or use-production for profit-production, that they must therefore be prepared to support other forces in the state working toward the same end with other means. Our first tentative conclusion must be: If American labor enters into the consumer-coöperative movement, it must be with the realization that consumer coöperation is an additional rather than an alternative, a valuable but not an exclusive, method of raising the material comforts of the working class and supplanting the capitalist system with something more equitable, stable and productive. Labor must at the same time retain and utilize all of its other effective weapons.

This is, however, only a tentative conclusion, because it still remains to be seen to what extent consumer coöperation does actually assist in satisfying the demands of the labor movement, particularly from a left-wing point of view.

We may begin with the more tangible, but less basic, advantages which the European labor movements have derived from consumer coöperation. In the countries where it has been strong, it has exercised a substantial ameliorative influence upon the rising cost of living for the working class. In Sweden especially, the dramatically successful battles with monopolies (margarine, electric bulbs, flour, overshoes, etc.) have resulted in tremendous savings for all consumers, especially for patronizers of coöperatives. In no country have coöperative wages been lower than those paid in competing enterprises and in by far the great majority of cases they have been above the general level. This is a matter not to be slurred over too casually when it is remembered that in England alone almost 300,000 people are employed by consumer-coöperative enterprises. Working conditions and hours are usually more favorable in coöperatives than in similar lines elewhere, and the quality of the goods produced is usually considerably above that of the private-enterprise competitors.

From the point of view of militant labor, still another question must be posed: Does consumer cooperation deter or accelerate, hinder or assist, the overthrow of capitalism? To a large extent the negative aspects of this question have already been touched upon. If consumer coöperation drains the energy of the working class by promising them a "middle way," and then succumbs to opposing forces which should have been fought with equal vigor on *all* fronts, then it is not only proving to be an inert but even a dangerous development. To use a specific example: If the German consumer-coöperative movement (with its 3,700,000 members in 1932) assured the working class (along with its other members) of a peaceful transition to a better social and economic system, but at the same time neglected to take proper account of the opposition it had to face, then one can only conclude that German consumer coöperation unwittingly but none the less seriously weakened the position of the German working class. On the other hand, these dark spots in coöperative history should not cause militant labor to overlook some highly important revolutionary potentialities of consumer coöperation. Under certain conditions in certain countries, the coöperative movement can prove, and has proved, a very useful aid to a left-wing movement.

Consider, for instance, the history of coöperation in the Soviet Union. Nobody saw more clearly than Lenin that consumer coöperatives were not only invaluable auxiliaries in time of revolutionary emergency, but, more important still, were the most suitable methods of distribution in the developing socialist economy. Some coöperative theorists have complained that the neutrality of the Russian movement was violated by the substitution of inexperienced Communists for tried coöperative officials,

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thus seriously impairing efficiency. This statement is true, but it tells only half the story. Political neutrality was "violated" because there had been no neutrality before. The coöperatives in Tsarist Russia had developed under the paternalistic patronage of liberal intellectuals, and during the War had proved themselves decidedly anti-Bolshevik. Lenin's only recourse was to purge the movement of its hostile elements and absorb it into the government machinery for the duration of the period of war communism. Beginning with the N.E.P., however, consumer coöperation developed to such an unheard of degree that in 1934 it counted no less than 70,000,000 members, with sales totaling over 20,000,000,000 rubles and employees numbering 725,000. It was no longer a temporary aid to the revolution, but an integral part of the Soviet socialist economy. However, so staggering was the increase in production, that the coöperatives found themselves unable to cope with the entire burden of distribution. Consequently, in November of last year, it was decreed that for the present consumer coöperatives should confine their activities to the rural areas (which means most of the U.S.S.R.).

The developments in the Soviet Union indicate that even if the coöperative movement is not basically revolutionary in temper, it may be utilized to great advantage by a left-wing movement both in time of revolutionary stress and during the period of the building of socialism. For example, nobody who has not actually visited the inconceivably vast distributing and producing organizations of the British consumer-coöperative movement can possibly visualize its tremendous latent revolutionary potentialities. With their complicated network of transport services throughout the country, their diversified manufacturing and distributing resources and their extensive credit reserves, the coöperatives are admirably equipped to satisfy all of the elemental, and many of the advanced, needs of the working class in time of emergency.

With predominantly working-class membership in the local societies, and practically 100-percent trade-union membership in the factories and shops —as is the condition in England—mass pressure may force its say in the matter. It is even possible to cite a few specific instances where English cooperatives have definitely thrown their weight behind working-class movements. Most notable were the assistance given by the English Coöperative Wholesale Society to the 30,000 striking Dublin dockers in 1913, the aid offered to the National Union of Railwaymen in 1920, and the credit and food supplies furnished to many of the workers during the general strike of 1926. The record is less adequate than it should be, but the possibilities should not be overlooked merely on that account.

There are also other ways whereby consumer cooperation can be a valuable adjunct to a radical labor movement. In its organizational aspect, the coöperative factory differs from a factory in present-day Soviet Russia only in certain minor respects, attributable usually to the existence of the coöperatives within a capitalistic country. To take an imaginary example, if England should turn completely socialist tomorrow, the management and technical arrangement of the coöperative shoe factory in Manchester could remain substantially unaltered. But the same aspects of private shoe factories would have to be changed considerably. For perhaps one of the most valuable contributions of consumer cooperation is the training it gives in non-profit, but highly efficient, management and service. The director of a coöperative enterprise is paid a salary, as is the director of a soviet factory, but the coöperative director as well as the soviet director is expected to give his best despite his lack of financial interest in the organization. And the remarkable thing about it is that he does. There are coöperative enterprises in England, France, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Denmark that compare in efficiency more than favorably with their capitalistic competitors. And, from the writer's own observations, they often are superior to similar establishments in the U.S.S.R. It is of great significance that very often these future managers and salesmen are middle-class men and women who felt that the coöperative movement would give them not only more security but also more scope for their own individual abilities.

And would it be speaking too abstractly to point out the service of the coöperative movement in arousing people as consumers to the injustices of the capitalist system and developing within them the coöperative instinct to better their condition—not by preaching, but by organizing them into movements?

It is hardly within the province of this article to decide whether it is possible for consumer cooperation to develop in the United States to the extent that it has in Europe. The underlying assumption has been that it is.

What stand, then, should labor—especially American labor—take toward consumer coöperation? It would appear that there is no easy answer. Given a relatively favorable environment, as in Sweden, consumer coöperation may go a long way toward raising the workers' standard of living. Subjected to bitterly opposing forces, as in the fascist and reactionary countries, it may be summarily snuffed out or nullified. In a socialist country, it may expand to unprecedented limits. Consumer cooperation itself will never overcome capitalism or correct all its abuses. But, hand-in-hand with a strong labor movement, it might well be a priceless adjunct in the "coming struggle for power." American labor must weigh carefully the pros and cons. But one thing remains certain: a coöperative movement without a broad working-class base can hardly be expected to throw its weight behind a labor movement. If American labor intends to make use of consumer coöperation, American labor must enter the consumer-coöperative movement.

HERBERT A. FIERST.

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The Waterfront Showdown

BEFORE the 1934 maritime and general strike in San Francisco, the average wage of a longshoreman was $42.50 a month. Now it is $160 a month. In two sentences this gives evidence of the concrete gains of that successful though bloody strike, which won for the men joint hiring halls with a union dispatcher, permitting a proper spread-out of employment. Before that, in the vicious days of the "Blue Book" company union and hiring from the dock, a few favorites had the "privilege" of working themselves to death under the speed-up system; the vast majority of stevedores hung around day after day without a job, or were called at the last minute and then mercilessly speeded up to avoid payment of overtime. The other marine unions won something also from the 1934 strike, though not nearly so much.

Naturally, to the shipowners, the good old days were over. At first they expected to be able to evade or nullify the award; but when it became plain that the powerful consolidation of the seven maritime unions in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, under able, aggressive leadership, was going to make that impossible, they started to lay their plans to force a strike or a lock-out to regain their lost paradise. Meanwhile the unions played for time.

First-rate strategy has been displayed on both sides, though the unions' has been better than the employers', because the former are solidly united and the latter are not. With the 1934 award terminating on September 15, the shipowners came to the initial negotiations with a flat demand for blanket submission to arbitration of all disputed points. This the unions as flatly refused. There are fundamental points they will not arbitrate—the hiring halls; the six-hour day for longshoremen and the eight-hour day for sea-going personnel; the question of penalties, which involves the handling of "hot cargo" and the right to refuse to pass picket lines of a striking union. Neither will they make separate agreements by any one union; they insist on simultaneous signing of agreements by all unions within the Maritime Federation.

The unions came to the first negotiation conferences with extremely moderate demands for modification of the 1934 award. The shipowners, besides their parrot-cry for arbitration, countered with proposals so grotesque that they could not have been meant to be considered seriously. Roughly speaking, they asked for a return of pre-1934 conditions. Naturally, they were voted down by an almost 100-percent union referendum. When a thirty-day truce was finally forced on the employers, twenty minutes after the dead-line, by Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady, the employers wired to Washington that the truce was granted on the condition that the men would submit to arbitration at its end—which was totally untrue. McGrady's efforts led to further breathing spells and discussions, but it was apparent from the beginning that there was no hope of successful negotiation of the unions' fundamental issues, and after making every effort to bring about a peaceful settlement, the unions finally called the strike, which they had been almost unanimously empowered to call by a coast-wide referendum vote.

The shipowners themselves by no means present a united front. In the first place, the steam-schooner operators, who cover the coastwise trade, were on the point of agreement with the unions, and are now ready to break away from the employers' group at any moment. Also, the same group of deep-sea operators who made the separate offer to the I.L.A. is chafing at the bondage in which it is being held by the die-hards: this group includes the large Grace and Luckenbach lines, which have always been more reasonable in their attitude toward the unions than have the hard-boiled and powerful companies who in essence brought on the present crisis. These are the so-called "Big Three"—the Dollar line, the Matson line and the American-Hawaiian, a Matson affiliate. Their spokesman is Thomas G. Plant, who when appealed to by Secretary Perkins to re-enter negotiations with the unions, wired back curtly: "The strike is on." The only hope of a speedy settlement lies in breaking the ranks of the employers and leaving the "Big Three" high and dry, with their trade going to their competitors.

During the period when negotiations were in progress, some of the dirtiest work ever seen in a labor fight was dished out by the shipowners, even though much of it can be placed at their doorstep only by strong inference. It ran the gamut from fake union papers to anonymous leaflets denouncing Harry Bridges as an "alien rat"; from a vile anonymous pamphlet, ascribing to the maritime union leaders every vice and crime in the calendar, to the actual framing on murder charges of the secretary of the Marine Firemen and two of his associates. Naturally the shipowners say that they "resent bitterly" the implication that they had any hand in this guttersnipe attempt to wean the rank and file away from their leaders; but there is plenty of evidence that what they didn't actually do at least had their knowledge and their blessing.

At this writing, with the strike a week old, everything is quiet on the waterfront. Many of the piers are entirely closed, and there is merely a nominal picket line along the Embarcadero. The employers have stated that they will not hire strikebreakers; the rumor is that they are planning a four-month shutdown, in the hope of causing enough loss and inconvenience to business to enable them to claim that they were obliged to open the port by force because of "demands from the desperate public." The unions are trying heroically to keep the peace. But they are stronger than they were in 1934, and they are prepared for a long siege. They will not give way on their basic demands. The nature and duration of this strike are up to the shipowners.

San Francisco. MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD.

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Washington Notes

The Pan American Peace Conference—Making Our Domestic Neutrality Legislation Stick —Yankee Imperialism Has Its Points

AN ADMINISTRATION adviser believes that the Buenos Aires peace conference, which opens in two weeks, will be "the most important Pan American meeting ever held, and will fix the relation between the United States and Latin America, one way or another, for a generation to come." What this seems to mean is that the administration, abetted by the government of Argentina, hopes to run the League of Nations out of this hemisphere. No administration spokesman has admitted this, and none is likely to. But if this conference succeeds, the influence of the League in the Americas will be close to zero.

The agenda of the Buenos Aires conference calls for the negotiation of a treaty that will, in effect, write into international law our present domestic neutrality legislation. From an international point of view, the essential thing about such a treaty would be that it would not distingush between an aggressor nation and its victim. In this, of course, the treaty would run directly contrary to the spirit of the League Covenant.

Last June Argentina made vague threats of withdrawing from the League. Immediately thereafter Chile, one of Argentina's great rivals, made an equally vague pro-League gesture. It is now believed that Chile's influence will prevent an open repudiation of the League at Buenos Aires. But this will not alter the stubborn fact that the proposed Buenos Aires treaty will establish a complete system of peace machinery for this hemisphere, and will make future intervention by the League superfluous.

If it is signed, the Buenos Aires treaty will give the leadership in Pan American affairs jointly to the United States and Argentina. Reduced to its essentials, Mr. Roosevelt's good-neighbor policy has been one of bringing the diplomatic interests of this country and Argentina into harmony. The Buenos Aires conference will represent its final triumph, and must be counted a major diplomatic achievement. Historically, Argentina has been the great opponent of United States imperialism in Latin America. It has repeatedly acted as spokesman and defender of the Caribbean nations. Apparently this has now been washed up.

There is an economic reason for Argentina's changed attitude. Argentina is dependent on the English market for the sale of its beef, wheat and flax. Ever since the Ottawa agreements, Argentina has felt that England was discriminating against it in favor of Canada, Australia and South Africa. Doubtless, by drawing closer to the United States, the Argentine statesmen hope that they can alarm England and force her to deal more generously with them.

A more important factor in Argentina's new position, however, is the feeling that the League secretariat acted badly during the Chaco war. This feeling seems to be strong not only in Argentina, but through South America generally. Toward the end of the Chaco war, the diplomatic representatives of the American nations at Buenos Aires formed themselves into a committee of neutrals to conduct peace negotiations. The dispute, however, was still formally under the jurisdiction of the League, and at least some members of the committee of neutrals felt that the League secretariat persistently tried to sabotage their efforts.

The chairman of the committee of neutrals at Buenos Aires was Argentina's foreign minister, Carlos Saavedra Lamas, a man of grandiose ambitions. Early this year, Mr. Saavedra Lamas seems to have selected himself—in his own mind—as the destined reformer of the League Covenant. He had been chosen to preside over this year's League Assembly, and, when he appeared at Geneva last September, the baggage of his assistants bulged with plans for altering the League's fundamental law. The word was spread about that he meant to give the League one last chance. It could reform, or else Argentina and most of the Latin American nations would bolt.

As the Assembly opened, all Europe was torn and distracted by the civil war in Spain and the German rearmament program. The Assembly roused itself long enough to seat the Ethiopian delegation of Haile Selassie, and then relapsed into puzzled mutterings. No one had time for, or interest in, Mr. Saavedra Lamas' plans. The reformation of the League's Covenant, which had been given a conspicuous place on the Assembly's agenda, was shunted off to a study committee. It is reported that Mr. Saavedra Lamas now feels freed of all obligation to Geneva, and justified in lending support to the creation of a rival peace structure on this hemisphere.

A final consideration that helps explain the Buenos Aires conference is the sharpening of class lines in Latin America. In my judgment, this is a decisive reason for the success of the good-neighbor policy. It cannot be denied that, under Mr. Roosevelt, the United States has intervened in Cuba. With the weight of the State Department behind him, Ambassador Caffrey forced the resignation of the Grau San Martín government against the will of the most progressive and enlightened elements on the island. The fact that this was done through financial pressure, rather than by landing United States Marines, makes it no less intervention. It is the sort of thing that once would have aroused Latin America to wild protests against Yankee imperialism. But the Grau San Martin government was leftist in character, and the regimes in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru, the four principal South American powers, are today mortally afraid of a social upheaval. Yankee imperialism, which aims at maintaining reactionary governments everywhere in Latin America, no longer seems abhorrent to them. To many of the great land and mine-owning Latin American families, indeed, Yankee imperialism seems like a friend in time of great need.

As these Notes are written, Mr. Roosevelt has not yet said definitely that he would go to Buenos Aires for a one-day visit. Since the trip was first considered, more than a month ago, administration experts have been panicky lest Latin American sensibilities be wounded. Because Mr. Roosevelt is now one of the half-dozen world figures of his generation, from a publicity standpoint he would completely blanket the conference. Latin American statesmen keep scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, exactly like statesmen elsewhere, and—if Mr. Roosevelt pops up at Buenos Aires—their newspaper lineage will be short and sour. Intangibles of this kind have wrecked many an international conference.

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A reader challenges the statement, made in these Notes two weeks ago, that The Chicago Times attained a circulation of 400,000 during the campaign as a result of its support of Roosevelt. This correspondent was relying on the word of Chicago politicians. The circulation of The Times for the six months ending September 30 is given by Editor and Publisher as 278,261. Official figures for the last five weeks of the campaign are not available.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Taming the News in Washington—Methods 1, 2, 3 and 4—A Flood of Securities, Meaning Nothing

I HAVE been glancing through some recent investigation records in newspapers. And I have been interested to see standing out so clearly all over these reports faint fingerprints of the public-relations counsel. It brings to mind a fact of which not only readers but newspaper editors ought to be keenly aware. News editors are usually hard-boiled persons. And there is nothing they resent so dearly as the attempt to fool them with subtle poisoning of the news that flows over their desks. They very justly feel that if there is going to be any poisoning in their papers they should have the right to do it themselves.

There is a whole new technique that has been developed in investigations. Its aim is to divert attention from the essential facts of the investigation, to steal the spotlight away in the first few days of the public hearings when public attention is fixed on the performance and when an impression may be made that will remain throughout the hearing.

Hence, persons of importance and power who are about to be investigated by a Senate Committee employ a public-relations man and sometimes a battery of subordinates to plan the exhibition during those first days. It is amazing what a good publicity man who knows his way around can do, how by a slight touch he can apparently completely change the news.

For instance, I recall last summer when Senator Wheeler was getting rather busily after O. P. Van Sweringen. Wheeler had subpoenaed Van Sweringen to appear at his office. Van Sweringen came to Washington but did not go to Wheeler's office. The Montana Senator was pretty hot under the collar about this. He felt the Cleveland railroad promoter was trying to dodge him. He had Van Sweringen's lawyers on the carpet. He talked straight from the shoulder to them. Van Sweringen was trying to avoid going on the witness stand. And after a good deal of argument and many conferences with Van Sweringen's lawyers, Wheeler finally agreed to accept in writing from Van Sweringen the information he was after. Van Sweringen, under the authority of the subpoena, finally went to Wheeler's office and made the necessary agreement.

The following day, however, a two-column picture appeared in the newspapers of Washington and perhaps other cities. It showed O. P. Van Sweringen and his counsel, chatting in great good humor, with broad smiles, and it bore the caption: "O. P. Van Sweringen and his counsel called at the Capitol yesterday to confer with Senator Wheeler." What had actually happened was thus completely hidden behind that adroitly posed and captioned picture. This is merely one sample of the way the newspaper contact man, hanging on the fringe of the hearing, manages to give the story a helpful twist on its way to the city room.

Entertaining the reporters in Washington who cover the hearings is another important device. One of the big banking firms that appeared before Mr. Pecora had a pretty tough time of it. At the conclusion of the hearings, the bankers, who ordinarily look with contempt on newsmen, threw an elaborate party in their extensive hotel suite for all the reporters. The liquor, even champagne, flowed like water. All fraternized and put their arms about each other. It was a good investment, for one well known writer tossed off a piece the next day giving the banking firm a complete bill of health and that piece was run on the financial pages of numerous papers throughout the country.

Another important device is to steal the show the first day. When the great banker or railroad man is called to the stand he asks permission, since he is under attack, to read a statement. In the past this has always been granted. But it has turned out to be costly. The statement is nowadays prepared in collaboration with lawyers and publicity men and is designed to develop some point which will make a good headline story. The investigator who lets an investigated magnate read an opening statement is falling an easy prey to what is now a very obvious stratagem.

Another device is to forestall the committee. When the investigation is about to begin, the investigated baron knows what he is in for and what is going to be brought out. If it comes out as a result of questioning it will look black against him. So he hands out a statement to the press before the hearing in which he tells the story himself. Thus the revelation comes from him instead of the committee. In making the statement he, of course, takes all the sting out of it and puts the pleasantest interpretation on it. He completely defeats its harmful character by being the first to make it known.

Meanwhile the work of seeing that the story is favorably told in the papers goes on behind the scenes. Editors at home do not, of course, know what is happening in Washington and they accept what they get with faith. They ought to have this new game, I think, called to their attention.

The flood of new securities registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission excites the admiration and expectations of those who think that prosperity talks to us in securities. But a little analysis reveals that the issues mean little. In the eight months up to August—the latest month for which we have figures—registrations amounted to about $3,295,000,000 this year compared with $1,446,000,000 in the same time last year. But the actual amount of fresh funds to be brought into industry by these issues is not formidable. The great bulk of it is for conversions, paying old debts, refunding, etc. Out of over three and a quarter billions, only $386,000,000 is for fresh funds. And of this only about $100,000,000 is for the purchase of new productive equipment. In other words, only about three percent of the new securities registered are designed to provide funds to buy plant or equipment for industry.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

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The Bandwagon

As Maine goes, so goes the nation.—*Old political proverb.*

As Maine goes, so goes Vermont.—*The New York Times and several other sources.*

Only ten [nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, one] more days to save the American way of life.—*Mrs. Preston Davie in The New York Herald Tribune.*

Smith predicts Landon will win election. "We'll all soon be out of the woods," ex-Governor says on visit to Albany.—*News item in The New York Herald Tribune.*

They can beat him [Roosevelt] with a Chinaman.—*Henry L. Mencken in The American Mercury.*

Our poll indicates that Landon will win thirty-two states, 54 percent of the popular vote and 370 electoral votes.—*Summary of statement by The Literary Digest.*

I'll stake my reputation as a political prophet on Landon's victory.—*W. R. Hearst in a newspaper interview.*

All one can say is that on Wednesday morning of next week one group of pollers or the other is going to have a dreadful headache.—*Mark Sullivan in his syndicated column in The New York Herald Tribune.*

Mr. Hamilton, in a statement issued at Chicago, said that he had been deluged all day at Republican national headquarters there by protests that his estimate of 320 electoral votes for Governor Landon . . . had been too low. . . . Said he never had known a campaign in which "the rising tide of protest against the party in power continued to sweep on and on at such a late hour."—*News item in The New York Times, November 3.*

It is the basic principle of the American form of government that so long as our citizens understand the issues before them, their decision will be the right decision. . . . The issues may be left with safety to the tribunal . . . that has never failed in its duty when given a leadership that respected the combined wisdom of the people. I am confident that the people understand the issues before them in this election.—*Governor Landon, quoted in The New York Times, November 3.*

Roosevelt sweeping the nation—electoral vote likely to reach 510.—*Headlines in The New York Times, November 4.*

It has been necessary, we concede, to place before the electors the perilous tendencies of some Roosevelt policies. It has been in accord with sound political practice to exaggerate a little, even a lot.—*Editorial in Editor and Publisher.*

First Aid for the Wicked Democrats

We seventeen million [who voted for Landon] must get together everywhere and be everywhere in touch; so that we can stand together and not only withstand the shock but give sanctuary and leadership to the millions who will need it.—*"Heptisax," in The New York Herald Tribune.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—The Editors.

CORRESPONDENCE

Unreconstructable Republican

SIR: I enclose a copy of an interesting telegram I received just before the election from Frank J. Kelley Jr., president of the Star Peerless Wall Paper Mills, of Joliet, Illinois, in which I am a stockholder and director. I assume I was not the only person so favored.

New York City. Martin Flavin.

[Enclosure]

A Devious Path Strewn with the Wreckage of Broken Promises Comma Eight Unconstitutional Major Enactments and Outspoken Contempt for the Supreme Court Comma a Debt of Thirty Four Billions Which We Have Borrowed Against Our Childrens Future Comma Insidious and Persistent Incitement to Class Hatred Comma Higher Costs of Living and Consequent Lower Real Wages Comma Eleven Million Unemployed and Twenty Million on Politically Exploited Relief Comma Widespread Uncertainty and Fear of What the Future Holds Comma Communism in High Office Gnawing at the Vitals of the American System Comma That Is the Picture After Three and a Half Years of the New Deal Stop Zero Hour Is upon Us Comma Freedom of Thought Comma Freedom of Assembly Comma Freedom of Speech Comma Freedom of Initiative Comma Freedom of Enterprise Comma All of These and Many More Hang in the Balance Stop In This Momentous Crisis the Spirit of America Is Calling to Her Loyal Sons and Daughters to Rally to Her Defense and Thus Prove Themselves Worthy of Their Heritage We Shall Not Fail Her

Chicago, Ill. Frank J. Kelley Jr.

[We should like to know whether Mr. Kelley disapproves of the telegram sent by Governor Landon to President Roosevelt in which the Republican candidate says: "The nation has spoken. Every American will accept the verdict and work for the common cause of the good of our country. That is the spirit of democracy. You have my sincere congratulations."—The Editors.]

Understanding Karl Marx: A Debate Continued

SIR: The greater part of Mr. Hook's reply to my review in the issue of September 30 consists in a general statement of his conception of Marxism. I have not the least desire to give offense to anybody, but this sort of reply compels me to state that I have no interest in anybody's general attitude toward Marxism unless I am sure that he knows what he is talking about. Hook's books have, on the contrary, convinced me that he still has to master his subject.

"The real issue," says Hook, "between Simpson and me reduces to the question whether Marxism is a closed deductive system of economics . . . or a social philosophy." I must therefore permit myself to state that to me Marxism is not a closed system, nor exclusively deductive in method, nor exclusively concerned with economics. It is a body of scientific theory, inductive and deductive, concerning man as a social being in the widest sense; his economics, law and politics, and the relation of these to religion and philosophy, science, literature and art; his past, present and future. The theory in turn gives rise to a corresponding practice, and both are capable of indefinite extension. But to Hook, on his own statement, Marxism is a social *philosophy,* and that probably accounts for his extreme carelessness whenever he discusses questions of history or economics, and for his superficiality. The philosopher of today, though he has lost most of his former interests, which have been taken over by special sciences, still has plenty of work before him in the history of philosophy, logic and epistemology; but he insists on dabbling in all the sciences, and in the social sciences he even assumes a tone of authority.

Consideration for the generous hospitality of The New Republic, which is not a Marxist journal, compels me to confine myself to three points in Hook's reply to my bill of particulars. He objects to my saying that he invariably confuses labor-power and labor; I

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can only point to pp. 30, 200, 213 and 217, in "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx." He denies ever having said that value is determined by wages. But he does say in the same book: "The outcome of today's class struggle affects the measure of value of tomorrow." To me these words can only mean that a victory or defeat of the workers, political or economic, raises or lowers their wages, and that this raises or lowers the values of commodities. His last objection is a psychological curiosity. I take one sentence of his and point out three blunders; he buries the sentence again in a paragraph, and is indignant about my italics. Is it forbidden to hang his blunders as high as Haman? Moreover, the reference to the third volume of "Das Kapital" was made at the end of the sentence I quoted, not at the end of the paragraph.

The confusion of thought that pervades Hook's books creeps, of course, into his reply. Take, for example, the statement that "it [surplus-value] arises from values produced for which the worker receives no wages." To begin with, the worker receives no wages for values produced. In common parlance he is paid for his labor, in Marxian economics he is paid for his labor power. The one who is paid for "values produced" is the owner of them, be he independent producer or capitalist. Second, what Hook says, taken literally, can only mean that surplus-value arises from surplus-value, a manifest absurdity. In Marx, the matter is perfectly simple. Just as value is produced by labor, so surplus-value is produced by surplus-labor, that is, unpaid labor. In fact, the entire sum of my criticism amounts to this, that Hook has only the haziest notion of the Marxian concepts, be it in history or in economics, and no amount of philosophizing can cover up this fundamental defect.

New York City. HERMAN SIMPSON.

SIR: Mr. Simpson has obviously missed the point of my reply which was that he had *not* reviewed my books on Marx. Nor, as the studied insolence of his tone indicates, did he intend to review them. That is why I presented my interpretation of Marx for criticism by those interested in the subject. As for Simpson's qualifications as a Marxian critic, they may be inferred from his complacent ignorance of the outstanding problems of Marxian theory. He believes that one can expound Marx's views without interpreting their meaning. He regards Marxism as a science from which practical conclusions flow, but cannot grasp the elementary commonplace that judgments of value or practice, *i.e.,* this or that *should be* done, cannot be *logically* deduced from judgments of fact. It is naïve views such as Simpson's that give ground for the charge that Marxism is a religion.

Mr. Simpson's specific rejoinders to some of the points in my reply are of a piece with his original review, *i.e.,* based on misstatements and bad logic. If the reader will consult p. 46 of "Capital" (Vol. I, Kerr ed.) and then glance at the pages Simpson lists of my book, he will find the reference to labor-power in my discussion of the nature of exchange-value perfectly in order. It appears that Simpson does not know that the distinction between labor and labor-power is focal not for the definition of value, where the important concept is "socially necessary labor-time," but for the theory of wages and profit, which is the cornerstone of Marx's own contribution to political economy.

In a very significant passage, Marx writes: "In contra-distinction to the case of other commodities there enters into the determination of the value of labor-power a historical and moral element" (Capital, I, p. 190). This follows from his belief that the number and extent of man's so-called necessary wants are a function of the level of culture. Commenting on this passage with reference to the commodity labor-power, I wrote "the outcome of today's class struggle affects the measure of value of tomorrow." Only Simpson's grotesque sense of implication can draw from this the conclusion that value is determined by wages.

To cover up his bad logic, Simpson now cavils at my statement that surplus-value arises from values produced for which the worker receives no wages. This was by way of reply to his original charge that I believed values were determined by wages, the point being that since according to my exposition of Marx's theory of surplus value there had to be at least some values produced for which the worker received no return, Simpson's charge was false on its face. Like most soap-box pontifications about Marx, Simpson's present remarks indicate he does not know what the shooting is about. He has memorized a few phrases which in his mind take the place of analysis. It is quite true that the working class receives wages for its labor-power; but it is also true that normally if its labor-power produced no value it would not be purchased. The worker would be a candidate for relief not for employment. On every economic theory, the working class receives wages because of the presumption that the results of the labor-power it sells have value in some market. This is a *conditio sine qua non.* On the Marxian theory, and this is basic, the labor power sold is *"a source not only of value but of more value than it has itself"* ("Capital," I, 216, italics in original). Wages represent a sum of values more or less equal to the value of the workers' labor-power. But this sum of values is equivalent to only part of the total values which they have produced. The rest—profit, interest and rent—is surplus-value. Simpson believes I am confused because he assumes that workers can continue to receive wages for producing things that no one wants to buy.

As for the sentence in "From Hegel to Marx" about which Simpson made so much, I must insist that it was not buried in a paragraph but is an integral part of the paragraph; and that most people read a sentence with an eye on the sentences which precede and follow. I readily grant that it could be improved upon, but I deny Simpson the right to italicize my words without indicating that the italics are his, for this is an old form of the fallacy of accent and "frames" the meaning of the quotation. Such methods of polemics betoken the manners and morals of apache-radicalism and the literary underworld.

New York City. SIDNEY HOOK.

Another Open Letter to the Republican National Committee

Republican National Committee
Box S
Chicago.

(POSTMASTER: If not found, please forward to Wilmington, Del., c/o Pierre, Lammot, Irénée, and Al du Pont; if no one there, burn and scatter ashes over every state east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio, and West Virginia besides.)

Gentlemen:

Just see what you've done. You've turned the country over to Roosevelt, hoof and mouth. You've placed the destiny of our fair America, founded by the Founding Fathers, in the hands of the Tammany Reds, the Hague Progressives, the Kelly-Nash Independents and the Prendergast Farmer-Laborites. You've taken this Land of Opportunity, where Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln fought and died to give women and children the inalienable right to work for as little as they wanted to (People of the State of New York v. Tipaldo), and handed it over to a lot of foreigners with accents, like Glass, Harrison and Robinson. These people have replaced the American Form of Government with mob rule at the polls. Now they will replace the buggy with the droshky.

My friends, I have lost faith in you. You could have run Hoover and at least saved New Hampshire. Instead you ran Landon, or Lowden, or somebody. You must reorganize, gentlemen, before Roosevelt, the Kerensky of the present Revolution, is swept aside by the impatient extremists—the Astors, the Teagles and the Kennedys. The crisis demands the greatest chairman of the Republican National Committee since John Hamilton. You must go back to first principles—to Prohibition and the Farm Board—if, in the words of Roger Babson, we are to live to see another election in this country.

Yrs. rspy., &c.,

Chicago, Ill. MILTON S. MAYER.

P. S. If the outcome of this election hasn't taught you Republicans not to meddle in politics, I don't know what will.

M. S. M.

About Carl von Ossietzky

SIR: Your quotation from the Nofrontier News Service on the interview between Carl von Ossietzky and a group of English journalists in The New Republic of October 21, gives a somewhat false impression which I would like to correct.

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In the first place, this interview took place not recently, but in 1934, a fact which was confirmed to me by a German friend who arrived here last week, and to whom it was reported by Mrs. Erich Muehsam about two years ago.

And in the second place, Ossietzky is supposed to have asked—not for literature on medieval torture methods, which he hardly could have in the presence of the guards—but for medieval history.

I think these facts are important, for it seems that Ossietzky's state of health is at present more precarious than ever before, and it is more than doubtful that he is permitted to receive anybody.

New York City. RUTH NORDEN.

SIR: We are grateful for Miss Norden's correction of what seems a definite error—the first, if we may say so, brought to our notice in three years of publication. The story on Ossietzky was received from a French correspondent we have found trustworthy in the past, and with whom we have an arrangement permitting simultaneous use of material in France and the United States. The same report was recently published in the French anti-militarist paper, La Patrie Humaine, and others. We are, of course, checking up at once and taking steps to guard against any further inaccuracies from this source.

DEVERE ALLEN,
H. C. ENGELBRECHT,
Wilton, Conn. Editors, Nofrontier News Service.

A Disagreement with Mr. Hicks

SIR: In his review of "Phoenix" [The New Republic, October 28], Mr. Granville Hicks refers to Lawrence's philosophical works as "nonsense," and points to "his lumping together of capitalism and socialism" as a case in point.

For Mr. Hicks it is, indeed, sheer nonsense to lump capitalism and socialism together. He is himself perhaps too deeply implicated. But from Lawrence's point of view they are only two ends of one stick, property. One upholds it, the other reacts against it. And property for Lawrence is "old hat." It is not an issue. He used things, and when he was through with them he moved on to something else, "like a bird."

As for Lawrence giving "encouragement to the fascist mind"—nonsense! He believed that the function of a government was primarily to guarantee a minimum living to all citizens in return for "four or five hours' work." The remaining twenty hours are jealously reserved for the individual, to achieve the fullness of his own being. It is in the latter that Lawrence is chiefly interested. And this interest leads him into ethics and religion—far from any "ism."

So if one would know what Lawrence is driving at, one must be prepared to enter the fields of ethics and religion. But Mr. Hicks will undoubtedly prefer to remain within the narrower stadium where fascism and communism are fighting for the prize of economic mastery. Perhaps that is right for him. Only let him not confine Lawrence within those limits.

Then, too, one wonders how a critic of Mr. Hicks's ability could overlook a glaring error in "Phoenix." There is one essay included in the volume which quite obviously was never written by D. H. Lawrence. I refer to "See Mexico After, by Luis Q." Its author was a young Mexican who wanted Lawrence's opinion of his writing.

Cambridge, Mass. HARRY K. WELLS.

A Vote Roosevelt Didn't Get

SIR: May I be among the first to congratulate you on the narrow margin by which you and your liberal friends saved Mr. Roosevelt from defeat. From the letters printed in the last several issues of The New Republic these bold gentlemen have given generously and magnanimously to the creation of a new conservative party—the Roosevelt-Democrats. It should be a tribute to their perspicacity and good judgment that in a campaign where there were no issues the liberals, as is their usual wont, climbed on the bandwagon of promise and charming verbalism only to find themselves so much excess luggage. Convictions on fundamentals were lightly tossed aside in the haste to support a party that most of those same liberals had at one time or another affirmed to be devoid of any real insight into our basic economic problems.

What to do now? I suspect that the N.R. editors can spend considerable time listening to a string of "I-told-you-so's" from John T. Flynn, who, along with Norman Thomas, seems to have kept some sort of a balance in this mad whirl of being misled by Republican propaganda. Having thus abdicated their self-styled function of leadership, the liberals including The New Republic, can now return to their normal activity of criticizing the government and its policies. Up to within six months of 1940 they will be able to call loudly for a third party, fundamental leadership, adherence to convictions, and all those things. But by that time, no doubt, a new situation will have arisen in which it is necessary to keep somebody out of office. That's what the L.I.P.A. crowd has been doing ever since it was started.

Elmhurst, N. Y. HARVEY PINNEY.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Two of our women readers take us rather sharply to task for our stand on peace. Miss Edith Wynner of 30 West Seventieth Street, New York City, decries the "short-sighted intellectual snobbery of 'big-wigs' which she thinks caused us and others to dismiss President Roosevelt's rulers-around-the-table peace plans as impractical. . . . Mrs. Clara Sturges Johnson of 26 East Ninety-third Street, New York City, deplores our "fatalism" in assuming another war to be inevitable, and suggests a number of possible preventives, such as limiting the fuel capacity of warships and planes to a point that will enable them only to defend their own country; and a constitutional amendment forbidding our army's leaving this country.

The Lawyers' Security League, of New York City, announces its active interest in a suggestion made by Morris L. Ernst for the formation of an organization of lawyers similar to the American Newspaper Guild among newspapermen. Mr. Ernst proposes a body that would take a progressive stand in public questions in contradistinction to the conservative American Bar Association and would strive actively to advance the collective economic interests of the profession. . . . A Provisional American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky has been formed, with offices at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, to work for the granting of the democratic rights of asylum to Trotsky by the Norwegian government and for the setting up of an impartial International Commission of Inquiry to study the charges of Trotsky's participation in plots against the government of the Soviet Union and his denial of any complicity. Among the organizers of the Committee are John Dewey, Freda Kirchwey, Joseph Wood Krutch, Norman Thomas and others.

The editors of Soviet Russia Today, 824 Broadway, New York City, send us a suggestion that observances be held in various parts of the country on November 25, the day when the All-Union Congress meets in Moscow to adopt the new constitution. This marks an advance for democracy in a world that sees democracy increasingly hard pressed on all sides, say the editors, and they name Corliss Lamont, Maxwell Stewart, Malcolm Cowley and General Victor Yakhontoff among those sponsoring the observance.

What's on the Air?

Program of the Student Conference on Peace. Saturday, November 14, 10 to 10:30 P. M., N.B.C.-Red Network.

Fifteen countries join in a worldwide salute to the National Broadcasting Company on the occasion of its tenth anniversary celebration, Sunday, November 15, 9 to 10 A. M., N.B.C.-Red and Blue Networks.

Comment on world politics broadcast from Paris by Pierre de Lanux, foreign editor of the Courrier des Etats-Unis. Sunday, November 15, 1:30 P. M., C.B.S.

Salvador de Madariaga, James G. McDonald and others discuss "What Price Must We Pay for Peace?" on America's Town Meeting of the Air program. Thursday, November 19, 9:30 to 10:30 P. M., N.B.C.-Blue Network.

Dr. C. C. Little, managing director of the American Society for the Control of Cancer, Mrs. Grace Morrison Poole and others report progress in the war against cancer. Friday, November 20, 3 to 3:15 P. M., N.B.C.-Blue Network.

All times given are Eastern Standard.

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Sweet River

Sweet River, an adaptation from Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by George Abbott. Fifty-first Street Theatre, October 28, 1936.

IN THEATRE art that is fully successful everything comes off together, the outside and inside, the form and content, the idea and the material. But we may have, also, a passably successful work of art where the idea and its embodiment fall in and out, are sometimes together and sometimes apart. When Mrs. Stowe devised her book to attack slavery she hit on two motifs that were impregnable. One of these was that no matter how good the master, circumstances might arise by which the slave would fall into bad hands. The other motif is the possibility, within the system, of the separation of families. For good measure a third was added: through miscegenation a man with the characteristics and nervous system of white men might find himself enslaved. And above and behind all that Mrs. Stowe sets forth, the Christian religion is hung like a soundingboard.

Taking these two main themes in hand, the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" concocted a story and a list of characters that expressed them and expressed them with a vengeance. Through simplification and exaggeration the characters are reduced to outlines that count; events are equally unmistakable. We may say that their aim is indeed broad and that they never miss. Where the separation comes between content and form—for the themes and the machinery to carry them are on the same level intellectually and realistically—is in the more external expression, the manner, the very writing. Perhaps we should say that the separation is most obvious here, and that with the passage of time it becomes more and more obvious. A part of this failure comes from the fact that Mrs. Stowe, though a good deal of a genius, was not an artist. And a fair part is sheerly a matter of other times, other manners; she is dated in the worst sense. It is this last element that puts our theatre to it.

Even the stanchest Southerner, once having granted the two main themes in the novel's argument, is obliged to let all roll along together to its due end. He may resent the details, may see that this or that is absurdly stretched or one-sided in choice or unfair, but he cannot deny the whole's progress. The verbiage, the proprieties, the prunes and prisms and elegances of the text, however, are quite another matter. All the talent in the theatre together could not put them on the stage as they stand without setting off howls of laughter from an audience. And so we find Mr. A. E. Thomas in the version (based on the earlier dramatization by George L. Aiken) which he did for the Players' Club two seasons ago, trying hard to give "the ribald as little to scoff at as possible." He combed the text for high-flown and dated phrases, et cetera, telling himself meanwhile that "nothing of the flavor of the original was omitted"—which of course is nonsense. Under all the muss, the novel has a tension, we may say even a passion, on its very surface that the Thomas play misses entirely.

Why Mr. George Abbott, whose skill in a great range of theatre has long been proved, should have wanted to produce a version of this venerable favorite from out the past seems to have puzzled a great many people. I wondered myself as to that; but after I had watched the play, the sincere pains exerted upon it, the touches of affection, the vastly generous mounting, I decided that perhaps the best explanation was that he put it on because he wanted to. Mr. Abbott has taken greater liberties than ever. Little Eva, for example, does not die, much less distribute her curls for mementos; she is not even a pious perfect little child. The owning and selling of Tom are changed, he has only one master before Legree, and lives only on Louisiana plantations. Some of Legree's motives are changed, and Topsy and other details are varied. Above all else Mr. Abbott has tried to smooth out the play toward a greater reality, something more easily credible.

Curiously enough the very integrity with which Mr. Abbott has tried to keep out raw stage hokum, forcing and highlights, has mainly served to cut down the play's impact and weaken its unity. The original novel, take it or leave it, did hang together; and the theatre versions of a generation or so back, though the plane of their intention and the amount of their effort were lower than Mr. Abbott's, evidently came roundly off. Perhaps another way to say it would be that if "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is to be this real, it will have to be a great deal more so, with more fluent speech rhythms and living idiom, more warmth and give and take. That same reality would then only bring on more trouble, as to the characters, the whole substance and the comment. And curiously enough the very spots in the piece that some critics would be most likely to dismiss as the same old romantic hokum are those most real, I mean some of the simple moments of affection and daily life on the plantation. Mr. Oenslager's setting for this, the quarters under the water oaks, with the hanging moss, is not mere operatic sentiment; similar effects are still to be found among the parishes of Louisiana. Nevertheless the fact remains that no one degree of reality is established for the whole event, no successful unity discovered. I am afraid that the Negro chorus between certain scenes and at times during them, only serves, pleasing as the music may be, to complicate the problem. The quality of the whole effort in "Sweet River," however, is such as to make you wish Mr. Abbott a better fortune with it.

The Southern accent—an outside myth and a stage myth, since there are a great many kinds of speech in the South—has been given more pains than usual on Broadway. The best performer in this respect was Mr. Bartlett Robinson, as St. Clare, Tom's master. He is recorded in the program as New York born. At any rate it is the best good-class Deep South that I remember to have heard on the stage, from actors either Southern or not. The flow and exchange among the players did not seem very happy, but there were a number of good performances. In Miss Inge Hardison's Topsy the juiciness of the role does not hide the fact of this young Negro player's great talent.

Mr. Donald Oenslager adds one more oeuvre, as they say, to his growing list of theatre designs. At present the greatest need, it seems to me, in Mr. Oenslager's décor concerns lighting. The genuinely varied, expert and thoughtful settings for "Sweet River" would certainly gain by a lighting more imaginative, bolder, more poetic, more frankly admitted as theatre medium.

STARK YOUNG.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Portrait of the Artist

HAVING read James T. Farrell's new novel,[1] I turned back to the "Studs Lonigan" trilogy and for the first time recognized its really unusual virtues. The author deserves my apologies for this belated praise, but he will probably understand that Studs is not my type of hero: I do not naturally enjoy the lives of tough and hairy and pitiable gangsters, especially when they are magnified beyond life size and presented with a sort of revulsion that is hard to distinguish from pure zest. But Studs finally justifies himself to the reader by this same quality of zest in the author.

As I explain the matter in my own mind, Farrell was probably an obedient and studious boy, not like Studs Lonigan at all, but rather like the hero of his new novel. In school he learned to rebel against his dingy surroundings and against the terrible lack of human dignity in the domestic quarrels of his neighbors. But he also rebelled against his schooling, with its perpetual lessons of godliness and politeness. He admired the older boys like Studs Lonigan who thieved and fornicated and generally defied the whole system of rules observed by himself, but he also feared and hated these baby hoodlums. Thus, a whole tangle of emotions went into his first long novel. Part of them were as simple as the behavior of the good boy in Sunday School who writes dirty words in the toilet, and part of them were psychologically complicated—the death of Studs, for example, seems to be a symbolic murder in which one of Farrell's selves is the victim. But the point is that all the emotions worked in the same direction, that Farrell in this book was revenging himself not only on the sordidness of South Chicago but also on its pious hopes, and not only on the bullies from whom he had suffered but also on the heroes whom he had outgrown. It is this complete emotional integration that explains the power of the book. The author had such a good time writing it that he conveys this feeling to the reader, even in scenes that appear to be mean and revolting. The hero is presented with such gusto that he becomes a legendary as well as a real figure. Even though he is not of the same stature as Crusoe and Huckleberry Finn, he shares their quality of being truer than life.

But in his new novel—the beginning of a series that will probably continue through four or five fat volumes—Farrell is presenting a different type of hero altogether. Danny O'Neill is his name, and he had appeared several times in the background of the "Studs Lonigan" trilogy. We heard of him as a baseball player marvelously skilled at catching fouls, as a kid boxer who could outpoint Studs's heavy-footed friends, as a student at the big Protestant university, finally as a radical, with a younger brother and a sister marching among the Communists—but always as the bright boy who pointed Studs's follies by contrast, like the industrious apprentice in Hogarth's fable. Studs is now forgotten for the moment. In "A World I Never Made" we are carried back to Danny's boyhood, to the year when he left his own home crowded with rats and younger children and was taken to live with his mother's somewhat more prosperous family. He goes to a baseball game, he spends his first unhappy days in parochial school, he learns the facts of life at too great length, he gets sick from eating Christmas candy. Usually he stays in the background and watches the intrigues of his relatives—his two uncles rising as shoe salesmen, his pretty Aunt Peg sinking as the mistress of a broken financier, his grandmother puffing her clay pipe and the whole family quarreling like fishwives and lobstermen. Among all these characters, Danny himself is the least vivid, and for a reason that is not hard to find. Danny is supposed to arouse our sympathy and admiration, whereas his author has always been most successful in arousing terror and revulsion. Danny is a "plus" character, and Farrell is presenting his life with a "minus" equipment.

And this lack of integration explains many of the weaknesses in the novel. Thus, it explains why Danny is usually kept in the background and why the passages that deal with him directly are written without much fire. It explains why the author shows such evident relish when he describes the degrading quarrels of the O'Flahertys and the O'Neills, writing in a language that sometimes makes "Studs Lonigan" seem as innocent as a Sunday School tract. The dirty words used by Studs were an integral part of the story. But when pretty Aunt Peg O'Flaherty says to herself, "Well, if he wants to look at my ass moving when I walk, let him, the poor goddamn fish," one feels that she is being forced to speak out of character. A fairly high-class prostitute like Aunt Peg would never think of her own body in these terms—other people would have "asses" but she would have "shapely hips" or at the very worst a "backside."

In any case, the fury of the language cannot hide the fact that Farrell, this time, is writing an essentially tender and wholesome story. He is writing about an Irish family that is mean and quarrelsome but still united by deep loyalty, so that every member of it is willing to sacrifice his own comfort in order to push ahead a talented nephew. And he is writing about this boy of talent—how he suffers in poverty and has his mind stuffed with hatreds and superstitions, yet how he struggles upwards, not toward wealth as his family desires, but toward always wider horizons. In other words, he is writing again the story of David Copperfield and Stephen Dedalus and all the impoverished but highly gifted heroes whose sorrows have been described in a thousand great, nearly great or unspeakably bad novels. Here again Farrell is faced with a problem that had scarcely existed in "Studs Lonigan." He had been dealing there with an almost completely new background: the material itself seemed more important than the author's way of handling it. But in "A World I Never Made" he is challenging his readers to compare him technically with Dickens and Joyce, and he loses by such a comparison. His style is hackneyed and threadbare, with too many "he said pointedly's" and "Lizz rejoindered's" and only an occasional phrase that has music or color. It gives us the impression that the author is not trying to reveal life in quick flashes, but is simply slogging ahead through low-pressure areas of prose, trying to carry out his great design and write three thousand words per day.

It would be rash to predict the future of this long novel from the first volume. In "Studs Lonigan" Farrell showed a great inventiveness, an ability to present fantastic scenes and make them real. There is something here of the same nature, in the quarrels between Aunt Peg and her mother,

[1] A World I Never Made, by James T. Farrell. New York: The Vanguard Press. $2.50.

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and there may be more of it in the books that follow. The hero should become more interesting as he grows toward manhood. Still, I should guess that in treating the life of Danny O'Neill, Farrell has tackled the wrong sort of problem. MALCOLM COWLEY.

Boswell's Boswell

Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. Edited by Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett. New York: The Viking Press. 463 pages. $5.

JAMES BOSWELL'S "Tour to the Hebrides," as it first appeared after the death of Johnson, and as we have known it for a century and a half since then, was always considered one of the most "indiscreet" books ever published. Besides giving us a slice of the life of the British sage, with exact and fascinating transcripts of his conversation in a manner unknown to historical literature at the time, it offered many a glimpse of the intimate relations of the "majestick" Johnson with his young companion and biographer. These were so painfully revealing, and so often at the expense of the writer himself, that, while Boswell's magic feat of literary preservation was much relished, there was no want of laughter and ridicule on the part of his public. He was dubbed "the anecdotal memorandummer" by Fanny Burney, and a "zany" by Horace Walpole.

For example: under the entry for Sunday, September 26, 1773, Boswell describes himself lying late abed with a foul hangover. Johnson, who had retired early and slept well, comes in, wakes Bozzy with unusual good humor and berates him for a "drunken dog," while counseling him to take a morning dram for his headache. "Fill him drunk again. Do it in the morning, that we may laugh at him all day," roars Dictionary Johnson to the other companions of the night before, who soon gather again with fresh bottles of brandy. Boswell rises at length, opens a prayerbook, and comes as if "by divine interposition" upon an epistle in which he reads: "And be not drunk with wine, wherein there is excess."

There are many such passages of humiliating self-revelation in the "Hebrides" and in the "Life of Johnson," which English critics have deplored or tried to explain away. Yet it was not in spite of these traits of buffoonery and inverted egoism—as Macaulay's theory of the "fool who was lucky enough to write a great book" suggests—but because of them that Boswell's biographical writing has made such great effect. The faithful reporting, the keen mimicry, the exact and colorful images that mark his work are linked organically as expression with his exhibitionism, his madness. He did not see as normal people do, but as the infant or savage. He himself was not at all unaware that he triumphed through excess, that is, by exploiting his very vices; for, in a second edition of the "Hebrides," he replied to his defamers:

> My ingenuously relating this occasional instance of intemperance has I find been made the subject both of serious criticism and ludicrous banter. . . . I wonder that those . . . serious critics should not have had sagacity enough to perceive that here, as in every other part of the present work, my principal object was to delineate Dr. Johnson's manners and character. In justice to him *I would not omit an anecdote, which, though in some degree to my own disadvantage,* exhibits in so strong a light the indulgence and good humor with which he could treat those excesses in his friends, of which he highly disapproved. [My italics.]

There was Boswell's method, evolved in the intimate journals he kept all through his youth, which wrought a literary revolution; and there, too, were the motives, only partly concealed, of the self-styled "Hypochondriack" who was bent on publishing the unblushing account of himself beside that of his hero.

On both his method and his purpose the new edition of the "Hebrides," prepared from the original manuscript, now sheds an immense light. Following the purchase by Colonel Ralph Isham, the American collector, of Boswell's Private Papers, stored away all these years in an Irish castle, an unedited and indeed quite naked Boswell reappears in spite of the long, largely unsuccessful effort to hide him. Aside from the present edition of the "Hebrides," we have many volumes of Boswell's Private Papers (limited, in quarto, at several hundred ducats a set) to enlighten us upon his youthful travels, love affairs and meetings with Rousseau and Voltaire, painted in his finest manner.

The modern editors of the "Hebrides" have overseen a great work of restoration quite like that which follows the removal of defacing and alien layers of pigment from a "primitive" mural. Up to now we had known this work only in the bowdlerized form given to it by Edmond Malone, Boswell's friend and literary adviser. Whole pages and paragraphs were cut away; the order of things was much altered; nearly all passages of doubtful taste were "toned down," if not heavily pruned; in general and systematically a great part of the specific detail which Boswell's eye saw was changed, in accordance with the later eighteenth-century canons of taste, to make a more generalized, gracious and improving chronicle so far as that was possible. References especially to Boswell's private frailties, drunkenness, amorousness, melancholy, nightmares, were mostly deleted. His many fantastic digressions and ellipses were given introductions and conclusions which he never wrote. All this was done with the consent of Boswell, befuddled and wrecked by extravagance, drink and promiscuous fornication. While the modern editors reproach the censorious Malone, it must be remarked that we owe it perhaps to his patience that the "Hebrides" and the "Life of Johnson" were ever made ready for the press.

Once more, in its pure, raw form, we read the history of the contrary-minded Johnson's progress, now triumphant, now uncomfortable, through a Scotland which he had detested long in advance. My comparisons of the older with the restored edition all point to the great superiority of the latter. We see the stout, deaf, myopic Doctor "poking his way" among the Scottish rocks and sea-coast, and not "striding irregularly along" as Malone wrote. We have all the detailed menus of the prostrating dinners the two ate at the castles of hospitable lairds; then read afterwards how Johnson "went downstairs a little" (instead of "retiring"), while Boswell rushed away to write notes of the dinner in his journal. The conversations upon Hanoverian and Jacobite pretensions, upon the virtues or shortcomings of chastity, upon Anglican and Presbyterian claims, upon the shortage of "necessary houses" in Scotland, and a hundred other heads, are all set free and gain immeasurably by being done with the happy, original Boswell tints. Johnson is quite "in the flesh" as Boswell intended him to be; and Boswell is very much to the fore in newly restored autobiographical fragments. I mean that he is all the more fantastic, exuberant, melancholy or even cowardly—as in the famous psychological description of the storm at sea off the island of Skye, which now in the original form seems even finer than before.

The unexpurgated Boswell seems much closer to us. In his own right he was an intuitive master of style, in an

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age when English prose expression, with Hume, Walpole, Swift, Fielding, Lady Montagu and Sterne, reached its clearest, most poised and crystalized form. Then Boswell diverges from the others; partly owing to Sterne's influence and partly to Rousseau's, his bright, quick, nervous phrases lead toward a new zone of literature, the romantic and neurotic phase of the approaching nineteenth century. Our "Hypochondriack" too longed to lay bare his soul, such as it was; and there are many fearsome glimpses of it at last in the rediscovered manuscripts, with all its immoderation, its impassioned exhibitionism and wild humor that were compounded with his special genius. The modern editors themselves, Professor Frederick Pottle, the specialist in Boswelliana, and Charles H. Bennett, in their running commentary show themselves infected with some of Boswell's spirits and turn positively sprightly.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON.

Lincoln Steffens' Voice

Lincoln Steffens Speaking, by Lincoln Steffens, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 327 pages. $2.50.

IT IS ironic that Lincoln Steffens' last book, his least ambitious and in one sense least consequential work, should be the most engaging of his ten volumes, and give a clearer picture of his personality than all the self-analyses of his "Autobiography." For aside from this, its value is slight: it is a collection of notes and jottings, occasional magazine articles, book reviews, editorials and fragmentary sentences and paragraphs that read like ideas to be expanded at some future time. Nothing holds it together except the force of Steffens' personality, his humor, his shrewdness and occasionally his Polonius-like sentimentality —for almost the first time in his writing he seems unstudied and casual, revealing a genuine perplexity at times, rather than the somewhat rationalized and abstract perplexity he described in the "Autobiography"; revealing a genuine amusement, an unabashed whimsicality and sometimes a glimpse of his sardonic wit that was so strangely out of key with his prevailing amiability. The book begins with an article Steffens wrote after the birth of his son, called "Radiant Fatherhood"; apparently he wanted to write a genial parody of sentimental articles on motherhood, but the emotions called up were too much for him, and he tackled his theme with an almost embarrassing earnestness. There are five of these sections of longer articles, set between the notes and epigrams; three articles deal with children, and particularly with Steffens' son, Pete; two are about John Reed, one is a brief but suggestive tribute to Fremont Older, and one is a remarkably vivid sketch of Robinson Jeffers. Steffens was almost too good a neighbor and too courtly and warm-hearted a friend to write informatively about people he knew, but his picture of Jeffers, putting too much cement in his mortar to be a good stone-mason, carrying his "gift of silence" and looking as if he were trying to fly away when some pretty, flirtatious young woman called on him, has a Boswellian freshness of detail that suggests how powerful a reporter Steffens was before his concern with political and moral problems led him away from that art.

The most memorable of Steffens' notes are not his reflections on politics, certainly not his observations on art, but rather his random records of what interested him on the casual round of his last days. He thought it worth recording, after Sherwood Anderson's visit, that Anderson told him he had filled his West Virginia newspaper with imaginary characters—"so personal that the readers come to know and like them; and so evidently did Anderson." Especially Steffens liked Anderson's idea of making up one character who was always abusing the editor and saying things the editor could not say. But along with this sort of comment, Steffens noted the two lady visitors who studied his house for a long time with every evidence of admiration, and then asked him if it was where Aimée Semple McPherson had stayed in Carmel; and he quoted with awe Mussolini's great boast about the superiority of the Fascist seizure of power to the Russian revolution: "The Russian cost only a few tens of victims. Ours has taken a vast sacrifice of young blood." Steffens' funny, respectful, half-exasperated rivalry with Upton Sinclair runs through the book, as it ran through his professional life; he wishes he could see Sinclair again, promising "not to tell him anything he doesn't know," and he was delighted to find some people thought he had written "The Jungle." He was so pleased with this idea that he began to wonder if he hadn't written it, and "I sounded Upton Sinclair on my authorship once and, while he made a wry face, he did not deny it." One news item that delighted Steffens for its symmetry was the story of William C. Keim, of Los Angeles, who had practised shooting for years, methodically taught all his children to shoot, and had the extraordinary good fortune to be held up by bandits. He shot two of them. But what got Steffens was the thought that now the children would be forever convinced of their father's wisdom in making them practise: "The moral is, be a nut, but don't collect stamps, not in this day and age." Between these curiosities that somehow illuminated Steffens' picture of an infinitely surprising and usually ludicrous world, there are his comments on unemployment, on the longshoremen, the San Francisco general strike, Hearst, the Soviet Union and occasionally, in a soberer tone, references to the McNamara case that was probably the deepest tragedy of Steffens' career—references that curiously depersonalize the case and that suggest, if you know Steffens' "Autobiography," how powerfully the memory of his own role in it weakened and troubled him in the later crises of his life.

For the final impression of Steffens' last writing is not one of strength. He was ill, of course, but it is not physical weakness that seems to blur these pages. You get an impression of warmth, of humor, of courage and of an irrepressible quality of surprise from them. You get few reflections of moods to suggest that Steffens was almost seventy when he wrote most of the book, that his physical discomfort was often acute, that his teeth were being pulled, that the reactionaries of California—to phrase it gently—were far from emulating his courtliness in their persecution of him. The weakness rather seems to be in Steffens' failure to realize the ruthlessness of the forces that were shattering even his own quiet environment, his increasing tendency to present those forces in terms remote and abstract, his unwillingness to face them in their immediate and terrible brutality. In a way it is this attitude that led him to believe, years before, that the business men of Los Angeles would not prosecute the McNamaras if the McNamaras would plead guilty, that led him constantly to minimize the savagery of the struggle that he otherwise saw so clearly. But if he seems less a writer in his last book, and even less a political observer, he seems all the more clearly a great character in the dramatic sense of the word, with his vision blurred only by the gentleness and inclusive well wishing that made him such an engaging human being.

ROBERT CANTWELL.

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History on the Wing

The Stones Awake: A Novel of Mexico, by Carleton Beals. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.50.

SHORTLY before my last visit to Mexico, 1930-31, Carleton Beals, with several friends of his, looked over the roof ledge of his apartment and saw several strange men coming in, as it proved, to arrest him. They took him away very quietly and popped him into jail and kept him incommunicado for an uncomfortable length of time. Mr. Beals, who rarely confuses himself with the hero of his own works, was bored and angry and nervous all at once, being uncertain whether they meant to shoot him. He persuaded himself that it seemed unlikely. In the meantime, they had interrupted several books, articles and journeys of his, all of which have been finished since, and dozens more. His arrest had been ordered by a certain politician, really a quite dangerous thug, who objected to Mr. Beals's truthful and therefore damaging account of the politician's life and works. Why he let Mr. Beals go again I do not remember, but I imagine he is regretting it. Mr. Beals has gone on his cheerful career of gathering, arranging more or less neatly and publishing great floods of damaging, disrespectful truths about Mexico's corrupt politicians ever since. Side by side with this tenacious labor of hatred, or rather, knotted and woven in with it, goes his labor of love: a patient, constant presentation of the life and fate of the Indians, the wronged, the disinherited, the endlessly exploited industrial and agricultural workers of Mexico.

He never fails, you know always where to find him. It must be nearly twenty years since he went to Mexico, and if he lives a hundred more he could never write all he has seen and heard and learned about the life in that most complicated and confused country. But no doubt he means to try, and if anyone of our time can get all the essentials on record, he can.

He might have been a fine novelist if he had had time to stop and learn. He could have been a frightfully overpaid newspaperman if a sensational career had been his aim. He is neither, as it happens; when he writes facts, he really sticks to the facts, and that capacity is beyond praise. But when he turns to the art of the novel, he does not stick to art, and that is a pity. He is still a first-rate reporter writing his memories, telling good stories, explaining the predicament of the Indian and rousing sympathy and indignation for him, kidnaping his characters whole and sound out of real life and setting them in the midst of real events, so that instead of marveling at their reality, you would think it odd if they didn't seem real. Of course they are real. That is why, in his scenes of absolutely private lives and relationships, Mr. Beals suffers from a failure of imagination. He cannot follow his characters into the locked doors of their hearts and minds because he did not create them. With one exception. He knows Esperanza, the Indian village girl born in peonage. She is one of the most natural, breathing, appealing women in American fiction. No doubt he has worked faithfully from a model, for knowing his methods any other assumption would be fantastic, but he knows, for once, more about a certain kind of woman than she could be apt to know about herself. And he presents her, carries her through, develops her character and mind and personality, shows her growing up, growing older, arriving at a logical point of experience, in the end, which is merely a point of departure for another cycle of experience, and she really does live on quite tangibly after the book is closed.

This is a feat; how it happens I do not know, in the jungle of episode, the confusion of political crime and constant revolution, the crowds of characters and changes of scene. You will learn a great deal about Mexico from any one of Mr. Beals's books, whether novel or chronicle of that country. But you can know Esperanza only by reading "The Stones Awake." She is worth knowing.

KATHERINE ANNE PORTER.

The French in Indo-China

Indochine S.O.S., by Andrée Viollis, with a Preface by André Malraux. Paris: Gallimard. 15 francs.

MADAME Viollis was sent to Indo-China in September, 1931, by the Petit Parisien to cover the visit of Paul Reynaud, then Minister of Colonies. She preceded the official party by some ten days, accompanied the Minister and his suite on their round of luncheons, banquets and receptions, and when they had gone took about six weeks more to poke into odd corners, visiting native hamlets, coal mines, prisons, conversing with anyone who would talk—planters and coolies, missionaries and mandarins, peasants, engineers, nationalists and communists, as well as those of the subject race who still look for a square deal from their white masters—in an effort to learn for herself the causes of the abortive uprising of the previous year, the manner of its suppression, and what sort of men were the military and administrative officials of her own country who had done the job so efficiently as to lay up tinder for the more successful revolution to come.

This little book, consisting of 130 pages of barely retouched travel notes and of documentary appendices aggregating 120-odd more, is the result of her inquiry. She kept the manuscript in her desk for nearly four years in the hope that the government of the Republic would make some gesture toward undoing the mischief; but when the verdict of Saïgon and the trial of Hanoï showed that the authorities had learned nothing and forgotten nothing; that the so-called amnesty was to be a cynical mockery, the "punishment" of the murderous bullies a whitewashing, and the fiscal reforms totally inadequate to the needs of a ruined and starving people, she hesitated no more.

Her narrative, for all the grace of the writing and the civilized restraint of the point of view, makes a tale as distressing as it is instructive. It paints the white man as he bears his self-imposed burden of carrying civilization to the "backward" corners of the earth; and the picture is but fresh testimony that imperialism, wherever and by whomever practised, is merely a polite word for banditry. On some flimsy, trumped-up pretext, a gang of marauders descend with the latest weapons upon an unoffending and defenseless country, rob, burn, rape and murder the inhabitants, settle down to annex the one and enslave the other; and when the dispossessed make objection, or so much as implore some slight easing of their misery, they are bombed from the air, jailed or executed en masse, and by way of explanation denounced as rebels, traitors or "communists."

In the rough, that is what is happening in Indo-China. The five states, and particularly the largest of them, Annam, have become under white misrule a vast concentration camp. Famine, disease, extortion, forced labor indistinguishable from slavery, a total absence of civil rights, sudden death and imprisonment that is worse than death—in short, a despotism beside which that of the cossack and the Romanov seems almost indulgent, such are the blessings of

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civilization imported by the French Republic into the unhappy country. A province like Vinh, to cite but one example among a hundred, where the inhabitants, reduced to misery by a succession of droughts and floods, die like flies of hunger and plague, is farmed out to the native tax-gatherer, who squeezes the peasantry without mercy and beyond endurance. They sell their last animal, their last pot, their very plow, their very household altar, to meet his exactions. Having nothing more to sell, they trudge in a body to the city to lay their grievances before their white protectors. The latter, in constant terror of uprisings and "communism," have the peaceful petitioners mowed down by machine guns and air bombs. Those who manage to escape are rounded up and turned over to the mercies of the Foreign Legion, who jail, torture, maim and kill men, women, children, and then are rewarded by a grateful government with fat bonuses "for the intelligent initiative, the courage and devotion displayed during the communist demonstration at Vinh-Long." M. E. RAVAGE.

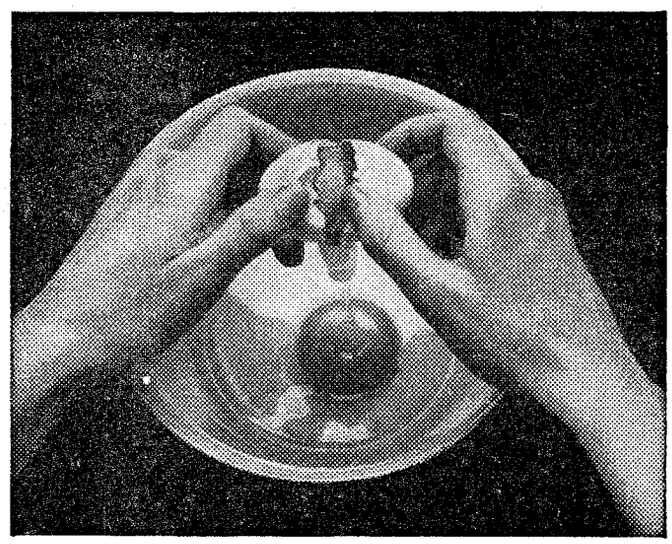
Books in Brief

Mexico: A Revolution by Education, by George I. Sánchez. New York: The Viking Press. 226 pages. $2.75.

REACTIONARIES, both Mexican and American, have carried on a campaign of slander against what is undoubtedly the most popular, most democratic and most progressive government that our southern neighbor has ever had. By confusing the issues, these enemies of the Mexican people have been able to deceive many well intentioned liberals, who know very little of Mexican history, into believing that the present government persecutes religion and teaches atheism and communism in its schools. Nothing is further from the truth, as Dr. Sánchez points out convincingly and conclusively. Working under a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, Dr. Sánchez, a well known educator of the state of New Mexico and a Catholic, made a first-hand study of the social problems of contemporary Mexico, paying particular attention to its school system. He discovered, among other things, that the so-called "religious" question has nothing to do with religion and that the Mexican school is merely striving to become a modern, secular and utilitarian institution. C. O. H.

Two Years, by Alberto Albertini. Translated by Arthur Livingston. New York: The Viking Press. $2.75.

More of a philosophical dissertation than a novel, this book examines the thoughts of a young Christian who is saved from death by a miracle and given a two-year period of grace to prepare himself for the Lord. Dearly attached to life, Maximus feels antagonistic toward God for not being more generous. In his rebellion he falls in love with a young widow; it is his first love affair and they both make the most of it. At the end of a year the saint who rescued him from death intervenes again and persuades Maximus to take more fitting measures of preparing himself. Maximus enters a monastery, determined to forget the widow and achieve the proper state of resignation and humility. But it is only in the last few days of his reprieve that he is able to meet his fate calmly and willingly. More interested, apparently, in the dogmas of Christianity than in people, Signor Albertini pays little attention to the development of his characters. His novel amounts to little more than a long-winded rationalization of the old Christian precepts that faith should supersede reason, and that "the purpose of life is to die." J. M.



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The Great Plains, by Walter Prescott Webb. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 540 pages. $5.

"The Great Plains," now issued in a trade edition, goes deeper, in its seeking after basic causes, than Professor Frederick J. Turner's thesis of the importance of the frontier in molding American life and institutions. The Great American Desert is a poorly watered, unforested area, "a comparatively hard surface of great extent." Here, as cowboys said, "we have to climb for water and dig for wood." The first frontiersmen were woodsmen or men whose mode of life was primarily agricultural. They were completely at a loss in the Great Plains region, which had been adapted to only the nomadic life of primitive tribes. The Plains Indians had been a barrier that completely stopped the Conquistadores of New Spain, and the introduction of the horse to the region added to the mobility of the Comanches and other Indians, who developed into plundering hordes like the Arabs and the Huns of Attila. They were not conquered until the buffalo herd disappeared. The factors which permitted the final triumph of the white man, according to Mr. Webb, were the Colt revolver and the invention of barbed wire, which solved the fencing problem. The book covers the various phases of the subject carefully, and is adequately illustrated by photographs, maps and charts. J. G.

Aspects of Wilde, by Vincent O'Sullivan. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 219 pages. $2.50.

A slight book, odds and ends about Wilde's last days and general achievement by a man who knew him without admiration or dislike. But one of the better things on Wilde, sane, well grounded, a good antidote for the works of those who have been taken in by either Wilde's solemnities or their own. O. F.

Contributors

MAURY MAVERICK has just been reëlected to the House of Representatives from the Twentieth District in Texas. During the last Congress he distinguished himself as a leader of the progressive group in the House.

HERBERT A. FIERST was graduated from Harvard College in 1935 and spent a year investigating coöperatives in Europe on a Sheldon Traveling Fellowship. He is now studying at the Yale Law School.

STERLING A. BROWN is the author of "Southern Road," a book of poems. He is a member of the faculty of Howard University.

MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD is a San Francisco journalist who has contributed extensively to various magazines.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON is the author, among other books, of biographies of Rousseau and Zola.

ROBERT CANTWELL has written articles and literary criticism for many magazines and is the author of two novels, "Laugh and Lie Down" and "The Land of Plenty."

KATHERINE ANNE PORTER was born in Louisiana and educated in a Catholic convent. She has spent much of her time in Mexico and was there during the crucial years of the revolution. She is the author of "Flowering Judas," a volume of short stories.

M. E. RAVAGE, author of "An American in the Making" and a frequent contributor to The New Republic and other magazines, now makes his home in Paris.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Clyde O. Hunter, Jerre Mangione, Joe Gould and Otis Ferguson.

BRUCE BLIVEN'S article in this issue appears, in a slightly altered form, as the introduction to a book, "War: Our Heritage," by Joseph P. Lash and James Wechsler, which came from the press of International Publishers on November 11. ($1, 175 pages.)

The drawing on page 65 was prepared for The New Republic by the T.V.A.

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The New
REPUBLIC
Special Section

Yale on Trial

Two documents in the case of
JEROME DAVIS

I: A Statement by Yale University

II: The Report of an Investigation by
Charles A. Beard Colston E. Warne
Paul H. Douglas Edward A. Ross

NOVEMBER 18, 1936
VOL. LXXXIX : NO. 1146 : PART TWO

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On October 21 there appeared in The New York Herald Tribune an article announcing that Dr. Jerome Davis, associate professor of Practical Philanthrophy at the Yale University Divinity School, had not been reappointed. We are advised that this news article was based upon a statement issued by Yale University exclusively to The Herald Tribune on October 20. Dr. Davis had sought no public discussion of his case up to that time.

We publish below two documents. The first is, according to our information, a correct copy of the statement given by Yale to The Herald Tribune. The second is a report on the relations between Yale and Professor Davis, prepared by Dr. Charles A. Beard, the historian; Dr. Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago; Dr. Colston E. Warne of Amherst and Dr. Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin. It was submitted by them, on their own initiative, to the American Association of University Professors.

The second of these documents has been shown to President Angell of Yale, and if he or any other spokesman for the university makes a reply, it will be published in our pages at the earliest possible moment.—THE EDITORS.

The Yale University Statement

JEROME DAVIS became a member of the faculty of the Yale University Divinity School in 1924 with the rank of assistant professor. He was made associate professor in 1927 for three years. This appointment was renewed in 1930 for three years, and again in 1933 for a term of three years. He was given sabbatical furlough for the second semester of the academic year 1933-34 in order that he might have opportunity to prove by a work of published scholarship right to promotion to a full professorship.

He has not qualified for election to a full professorship in the minds of the majority of the professors on the faculty of the Divinity School or of the general officers of the University who must by University statute concur in recommendations for permanent appointment. At a meeting in January last the professors of the Divinity School by a large majority voted not to recommend him for a full professorship, but to recommend his reappointment for another term as associate professor.

Mr. Davis is included in a group of members of the faculty in various departments of the University who in view of the budgetary situation in the University were reappointed for only one year, and were informed in the spring of 1936 that their appointments would not be continued after June 30, 1937.

In tendering appointment as assistant professor to Mr. Davis, Dean Brown informed him that: "It would be in our mind to recommend you for a full professorship just as soon as you indicated by your teaching ability, your scholarship in your own field, as manifested in what you had written and otherwise, and by your efficiency as a member of this faculty, your fitness for that position." Dean Brown further stated: "The promotion would have to be recommended by the full professors in the Divinity faculty, and we would wish also the approval of the faculty of Social Sciences, and it would have to be acted upon by the Corporation upon the further recommendation of the provost and the president."

The present action of the Board of Permanent Officers of the Divinity School was taken in the light of a careful canvass of these considerations. The action of the Corporation was taken as part of a general body of actions recommended by a faculty committee which has made a survey of the educational set-up of the University in the light of the financial problems confronting the University.

It would be a disservice to Mr. Davis to refer to the present action as a dismissal. He is not being dismissed from his position in this University. He is one of a group of men who were informed in the spring of 1936 that they would not be reappointed after the expiration of their appointment on June 30, 1937.

No abridgment of academic freedom or liberty of speech is involved in this case. Mr. Davis has always been accorded full fredom of speech and action both in the classroom and outside. Neither the action of the Board of Permanent Officers of the Divinity School nor that of the Corporation is based upon dissent from his views.

The Report of the Professors

A CASE of academic liberties is not a problem in mathematics that can be solved by adding the contentions of the university administration and the contentions of the professor affected and dividing the product by two or any other figure. It is a matter involving human judgment, with all the possibilities of error inevitably connected with such an operation. And no ground of agreement can be reached unless certain principles are accepted in advance, before a review of specific facts is undertaken.

The controlling principles or assumptions here accepted at the outset are those put forward by President A. Lawrence Lowell many years ago. They are, first, that a professor is free to conduct inquiries in his field and to publish his findings and conceptions of his subject; and, second, that the professor, as a citizen, has a right to be engaged in those activities which are lawfully open to other citizens. As a corollary, the university administration is under obligation to protect the professor against outside attacks which transgress these principles.

It is, of course, not a question of absolutes, but of spirit and emphasis. Shall emphasis be on the side of liberty or on the side of the interests that

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bring pressure to bear on university authorities? "General propositions do not decide concrete cases," as Justice Holmes remarked long ago. "The decision will depend upon a judgment or intuition more subtle than any articulate major promise." And that judgment or intuition is likely to turn upon the position that one holds respecting the place of the university in the intellectual and moral life of the nation, especially in those times when the spread of dictatorships has raised a vital question: Shall we now lean on the side of power or of liberty?

In answering such a question the issue of administrative convenience and temporary financial difficulties seems to us unimportant; for, where liberty is involved in any way, sacrifices may be made to defend it, if the decision is awarded to that alternative. From this point of view the argument for financial retrenchment cannot be accepted even as a plea in abatement.

But it may be said that the president and trustees of a university, having both the power and responsibility, must decide each case of controversy themselves, and that they are under no obligation to hear the professor or to heed outside intervention or interest. Undoubtedly they have the power. The only limit on it is their sense of self-restraint. Yet it scarcely can be denied that the manner of exercising it does affect the lives, careers and intellectual activities of their employees—the professors. Neither can it be denied that all persons concerned with the working of intelligence in American democracy will, of necessity, become interested in the degree of liberty assigned to free inquiry and exposition by those who govern educational institutions. However comforting to university authorities may be the theory of power and insulation, they can hardly hope to maintain it in perfect purity and long-run practice. A wise Prince, as Machiavelli has pointed out, takes note of things in the plaza not less than in the palace.

Having in mind matters such as the foregoing, the undersigned present to the interested public the following facts relevant to the case of Dr. Jerome Davis and Yale University. The facts are drawn from original letters, and copies of letters which are believed to be authentic. We regard them as evidence pertinent to any true description of the surrounding circumstances and to any fair judgment on the merits of the controversy. We are aware of the financial and administrative reasons advanced by the university authorities as the basis for their action, but we respectfully submit that they alone do not present a balanced picture of the total situation in which their action was taken. No court controlled by the judicial spirit could possibly exclude from review the following evidence as irrelevant or immaterial. Whatever position men of passion and indignation may take, men of reason, we believe, will want to give consideration to these facts before reaching any kind of verdict.

I

Jerome Davis has been notified of his release from the faculty of the Divinity School of Yale University at the close of the academic year, 1936-37. He will at that time have completed thirteen years of service for the institution, ten of which will have been spent as associate professor on the Gilbert L. Stark Foundation.

Apart from grounds of retrenchment, the university authorities rest their case for terminating Dr. Davis' services mainly upon the allegation that the senior professors of the Divinity School refused to recommend Dr. Davis for promotion to a full professorship. "As the Board of Permanent Officers of the Divinity School have definitely declined to recommend the promotion of Dr. Davis to a full professorship, to continue him in his present position would create an uncomfortable situation which would be unhappy to all concerned," President James R. Angell wrote Dean Luther A. Weigle.

A brief review of earlier actions by the Divinity School throws considerable light upon their failure to recommend promotion.

1. As early as August, 1925, Dean Charles R. Brown of the Divinity School wrote to Dr. Davis: "I shall be ready to recommend you to a full professorship at the end of your present engagement." This endorsement, subject to approval by the full professors of the Divinity School and President James R. Angell, was intended to forestall the acceptance by Jerome Davis of a full professorship at the University of Wisconsin.

2. In 1927, Jerome Davis was advanced to an associate professorship but not to a full professorship. He was told that he must serve for a period in the intermediate ranking.

3. The question of reappointment recurred in 1930 at the close of the three-year period. Objections to Jerome Davis had now become insistent on account of his favorable attitude toward trade-union organization and Soviet recognition by the United States; also on account of wage investigations which he was conducting. Promotion was refused, but the Dean wrote to him on January 21, 1930: "Many of the Board expressed their desire that I should convey to you their interest and satisfaction in your work and of their hope that it may be possible to offer you permanent appointment at the close of the term which is now voted. I am glad to say that I share in this interest and this hope."

4. Even more adverse circumstances surrounded the vote on promotion in 1933. As expressed in a memorandum signed by Professor Douglas Macintosh: "When the promotion of Professor Jerome Davis was being considered in 1933, Dean Weigle stated that the Yale Corporation was opposed to his promotion to the full professorship, that it was also reported that no one in Yale was going to be promoted to the full professorship that year and that if the Divinity School faculty voted for his

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promotion, the Provost would take the floor of the Corporation against him. This vitally affected the action which was taken at that time." As a consequence, Jerome Davis was given another three-year contract as associate professor.

5. A significant editorial appeared in The Yale Alumni Weekly for November 29, 1935, which condemned any activity "which publicly involved a teacher of the University in a political or labor quarrel, where the teacher may find that he has brought the University into the limelight with himself. In such a case it is not the individual's opinions as a scholar that are at issue; it is his public appearance, in action, as an agitator. It is this sort of case that merits official rebuke, and which, if persisted in, makes the offender no longer of use to his university." This was apparently based on an official address by President Angell in the same issue. The force of this official declaration was not lost on the New Haven press. The New Haven Register termed the pronouncement "a refreshing sign." It mentioned Jerome Davis by name and concluded, "While those interested in Yale will welcome such a stand by its President and alumni organ, they will find it extremely difficult to condone statements by its faculty members urging the destruction of the capitalistic system which, by its very essence, has made possible endowed educational institutions." (December 1, 1935.)

6. Dean Luther Weigle, on his return from China in the fall of 1935, told a prominent faculty member in the Yale Divinity School that he was then going to put through the promotion of Dr. Jerome Davis. When, however, the Appointments Committee of the Yale Divinity School met in December, 1935, the Dean stated that Jerome Davis had earned promotion but that the Yale Corporation was opposed to him. He therefore urged that Professors Roland Bainton and Robert Calhoun be recommended for promotion, but that the promotion of Jerome Davis be withheld. Objections to this procedure by Professor Douglas Macintosh brought an agreement that Calhoun and Bainton be then recommended and that Davis' case be considered later.

On December 20, 1935, Dean Weigle urged Dr. Davis not to press for the full professorship since the Corporation was opposed and since it would mean a conflict between the Divinity School and the Yale Corporation. Davis contended that it was only fair to vote his promotion even if it were turned down by the Yale Corporation, and that failure to recommend promotion would bring dismissal, the real objective of those opposing him.

The ensuing events are described in a memorandum of Professor Douglas Macintosh:

> Some weeks later [January 16, 1936] when the question of Jerome Davis' promotion was again taken up, Dean Weigle stated to the Appointments Committee and later before the permanent officers of the Yale Divinity School before they voted on the question, that the president, the provost and the Yale Corporation were opposed to Davis' promotion to a full professorship.

The Dean then spoke against promotion for Jerome Davis and read the following letter from President Angell:

YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

Office of the President — January 15, 1936

Dean L. A. Weigle
Yale Divinity School

Dear Dean Weigle:

Here is another little piece of sand in the gear box which comes to me from one of our outraged alumni in Reading, Pa. I must say that I think Jerome is becoming an increasing nuisance and my patience is inevitably wearing rather thin. You may know that, in connection with the permission to use Woolsey Hall for raising some money for the Henry Wright Cottage, he is trying to bring Senator Nye here and to drum up a student demonstration to exhibit the sympathy of the University for Senator Nye's views. I am sure that neither the Divinity School nor the interests centering in the Wright Cottage are helped very much by this kind of thing.

Faithfully yours,
James R. Angell

This was followed by a statement by Professor Douglas Macintosh favoring Davis' promotion but he could not controvert the fact that the Yale Corporation was opposed to promotion nor the letter of the President. Furthermore, before the meeting, Dean Weigle had let it be known that if the Divinity School faculty voted for promotion and it was turned down, as it was certain to be, by the Corporation, this would not only cause a serious conflict between the Divinity School and the Yale Corporation but that Davis would take the matter to the American Association of University Professors. (This alleged statement by Davis is denied by him.) This rumor was an important reason why one professor voted against a full professorship. Another professor who voted against advancement stated that he did so because it would be unfair to Davis himself to be voted promotion and then have it blocked by the Yale Corporation.

The permanent officers did, however, vote to recommend another three-year term as associate professor.

Dean Luther Weigle called Dr. Davis into his office the next day and stated that in view of the opposition of the Yale Corporation and the President, it might be best for him to accept a college presidency. A number of colleges were mentioned as possibilities, but Davis stated that he did not wish a presidency. The Dean declared that Davis could stay permanently if he wished to remain without promotion.

It is thus clear that the votes for promotion hinged on the opposition of the President and the Yale Corporation.

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II

Included among the administration's objections to Dr. Davis are contentions that his scholarship and teaching are below the required standard. He is held by Dr. James R. Angell not to possess "those qualities of scholarship, judgment and poise which we justly expect in members of our professorial staff." Dean Weigle has in recent interviews alluded to deficiencies in his teaching.

What are the facts on these points?

A number of tests may be applied to determine the scholarly qualities of an individual. Perhaps the best of these is the esteem in which the individual is held by those in his specialized branch of learning. Such a test is imperfect, since brilliant scholars are sometimes heretics, scorned by their fellows. The following evidence seems, however, significant, as indicating the opinion sociologists hold concerning Dr. Davis:

1. Jerome Davis is now president of the Eastern Sociological Conference, a section of the American Sociological Society. He is also a member of the executive committee of the American Sociological Society.

2. He was elected in 1935 for a three-year term on the editorial board of the American Sociological Review—official organ of the American Sociological Society.

Another test is the quality and the quantity of scholarly output.

Jerome Davis has appeared frequently before the American Sociological Society and is author of numerous articles in scientific journals. His doctor's dissertation, "The Russian Immigrant" (Macmillan, 1922), was favorably commented on by leading sociologists including Giddings and Ogburn. The present dean of the Divinity School acknowledged its high scholarship. Dr. Davis planned, edited and wrote the largest individual contribution to a widely used "Introduction to Sociology" (D. C. Heath, 1926). He also planned and edited a successful book of readings in sociology ("Readings in Sociology," D. C. Heath, 1927). He is now editor of a Social Relations Series for D. C. Heath. Under his direction eleven significant sociological works have been issued. He also prepared an important work on "Contemporary Social Movements" (Century, 1930). Although this large volume contains considerable reading material, more than a quarter of its contents represents an original contribution by Dr. Davis himself.

Dr. Davis has also directed a study of prisoners in the jails of Connecticut which was financed by the federal government. This study was made on his one semester sabbatical leave from Yale University. The investigation and report was published by the state of Connecticut under the title, "The Jail Population of Connecticut." Dr. Barkev S. Sanders, technical director of the Attorney General's Survey of Crime, says: "Among recent contributions to a scientific study of crime and crimogenic factors, the jail study in Connecticut published by Professor Jerome Davis of Yale University makes a very important contribution."

Dr. Davis has also written a book on "Capitalism and Its Culture" (Farrar and Rinehart, 1935). This volume needs special consideration because the dean of the Divinity School in his oral statement to the Student Council of the Divinity School declared that it was because this book lacked scholarship that he could not recommend Professor Davis for advancement. Two reviewers in The Yale Divinity News, the quarterly official periodical of the Divinity School, recommend it highly:

> Detailed, extensive and well documented examination of the effects of capitalism on the whole cultural life of the society in which it has operated . . . Timely, provocative, vigorously written, impressive in its thoroughness, it will compel attention both from those who agree, and those who disagree with its conclusions.—H. E. Luccock.

> This is by far the best book on capitalism that has come to my knowledge. It is a dispassionate diagnosis rather than an indictment. An encyclopedic mass of data is brought together, organized and interpreted in a wholly convincing fashion.—H. R. Niebuhr.

John Dewey offered the following commendation:

> The solid and clear exposition of the relations of the capitalistic system to our culture make this book invaluable to every teacher and director of schools.

Professor Harold J. Laski of the London School of Economics in a review written for The Saturday Review of Literature says of it:

> Professor Davis' book is as admirable a survey as we know of the impact of capitalism on our civilization. He collects massively a great body of material. He sets it out with impressive clarity and it poses the issues confronting our generation so that no man can mistake their meaning.
>
> Anyone who wishes to understand the problems of our generation can hardly do better than start his adventure in understanding by reading Professor Davis' book.

Professor E. A. Helms in The American Political Science Review says:

> The book is splendidly organized and delightfully written and it will undoubtedly be widely read and extensively quoted throughout the world.

In the testimony of President Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago before a committee of the Illinois legislature, Jerome Davis was listed among the authors whose works were "indispensable" in the university's course dealing with contemporary society.

The question of teaching ability may be more briefly treated. Although raised lately by Dean Luther Weigle, it had no place in earlier discussions concerning Jerome Davis' appointment. In 1931, the Conference on Theological Seminaries in the United States and Canada and the Institute of

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Social and Religious Research published an investigation of theological-seminary education in the United States, in four volumes, under the title, "The Education of American Ministers." In this survey studies were made of the various courses in the theological seminaries. The survey found that Dr. Davis' course in Christianity and Social Progress was given the highest ranking by the students of any course in the Yale Divinity School. The rating was based on the students' estimates of the extent to which the course:

(1) Made the student better able to handle the type of material with which the course dealt; (2) changed or revised his ideas or convictions; (3) helped him to meet the practical problems of a minister; (4) stimulated him to read and investigate within the general field which it represented; (5) broadened and enriched his general fund of knowledge; (6) helped him to think through the problems of religion; (7) aided him in the conduct of his personal religious life; (8) won the attention of the students; (9) enlisted their participation in discussion; (10) succeeded in getting students to work on its problems and assignments.

In 1936, after Dr. Davis had been notified that the Yale Corporation would not approve of the recommendation of the Divinity School faculty that he be continued for three years, he asked Professor Douglas Macintosh to come into his class to test the opinions of the students. In a class of thirty-two, 75 percent declared that the course was "better than the average," two of them ranking it "much better than the average" and all but one saying it was either "better than average" or "average."

Professor Robert Seneca Smith has stated that in all the time he has served on the faculty of the Yale Divinity School he never heard any extended discussion of the teaching ability of Dr. Davis when his reappointment or promotion was being considered, and that in the very few instances when Dr. Davis' teaching was mentioned it was always referred to in a favorable light.

III

That the Yale administration has, under the influence of protests from alumni, been openly opposed to the views of Jerome Davis and has given him scant shelter from the sharp criticism emanating from conservative circles is amply demonstrated by evidence. Protests and explanations have been numerous. The conflicts range from the issue of collective bargaining to questions surrounding the use of Yale buildings for the discussion of peace problems. They involve, in a personal way, not only individual members of the alumni body but the members of the Yale Corporation, the president, the provost, the secretary, the treasurer and the dean. A conclusive answer was given to the questions raised; yet collectively they left the impression that Jerome Davis was not a "safe" man to have about, especially as a permanent staff member. He "lacked judgment and poise."

The following illustrations of opposition to Dr. Davis' social and economic views are chosen merely to illustrate the difficulties he faced. They are by no means exhaustive.

In recommending Jerome Davis for a Guggenheim fellowship, President Angell expressed concern "because of reports made to me recently as to your apparently unqualified acceptance of the sort of material which Mr. Sidney B. Fay and Mr. Harry Elmer Barnes have been publishing on the responsibility for the War. As I have not heard you speak on the subject, I am disposed to discount somewhat the reports which reach me. But, if the reports are even measurably correct, I confess I should feel greatly disturbed in my recommendation of you for a piece of work in which sobriety of judgment and maturity of knowledge and completeness of investigation would be so important." (From letter of President Angell to Jerome Davis, December 28, 1925).

Howell Cheney, a member of the Yale Corporation, stated in a letter to the dean of the Divinity School that "the New Haven men are particularly exercised by Professor Davis' efforts to unionize the non-union factories and employees of New Haven." (December 30, 1926). Mr. Cheney, while voicing a belief in free speech, expressed the hope that the Divinity School would not "become the theatre of a debate on the evils of unionism and the advantages of the open shop." He expressed the wish that the instructors would not be diverted "from their true purpose." This incident was the outgrowth of workers' educational classes launched in New Haven with the assistance of Jerome Davis. The attack was continued on February 6, 1927, by Secretary W. J. Wilcox of the Open Shop Conference in Connecticut, who deplored the sentimental alliance of the ministerial and divinity group with the "un-American" labor movement. This hostility was brought into focus by meetings which Jerome Davis had arranged at which William Green, Dean Charles R. Brown of the Divinity School and Senator William E. Borah were to be speakers. The opposition of the New Haven employers raised a suspicion in the mind of Provost Henry S. Graves that Jerome Davis had undertaken labor organizational work—an action which, if true, would have been considered by the Provost inimical to the interests of the institution. The continuation of Jerome Davis' workers' education activities caused Dean Luther Weigle to advise him in November, 1932, not to represent local unions at the American Federation of Labor Convention, since the question of his promotion was soon to come up.

Jerome Davis had long been interested in Russia. He headed the Y.M.C.A. war work in Russia in 1918, surveyed Russians in America for the Interchurch World Movement in 1919-20 and returned to the Soviet Union in the summers of 1926 and 1927. His 1927 trip was as secretary to Edward A. Filene. Following his 1926 trip he edited a series for the Vanguard Press which made necessary his

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denial to President Angell that he was in receipt of "Moscow gold." A complaint had been made to the president in May, 1927. On October 23, 1927, Jerome Davis advocated recognition of the Soviet Union at Madison Square Garden, a large New York auditorium. This meeting brought a more serious repercussion. The Brooklyn Eagle exclaimed: "6,000 Bolsheviki in Madison Square Garden wildly cheer Jerome Davis, Yale Professor." Following numerous protests, President James Angell, interpreting this as an out-of-door speech, stated: "Frankly I cannot believe you are promoting the best interests of the cause you have at heart, to say nothing of the reflex effects upon Yale, by joining the Brotherhood of Out-Door Sunday Orators in the Metropolis." This false impression of an outdoor meeting was corrected. The controversy flared out anew when, in April, 1931, Jerome Davis accepted the invitation of President M. H. Aylesworth of the National Broadcasting Company to reply on the radio to Representative Hamilton Fish on "Liberty, Censorship and the Fish Committee." President James R. Angell then commented in a letter to Dean Luther Weigle: "Our friend seems to have broken out in a new direction." Attached to the letter was a note from a Yale alumnus: "I presume it is impossible to muzzle such a man. Is it necessary to retain such as he on the faculty? I sincerely trust not."

Another storm descended after a Chicago Tribune report, January 27, 1931, of a speech which included the statement: "Among the Higher Racketeers in America today, the Yale Sociologist named the Insull Interests." Samuel Insull Jr. (Yale, class of 1921) entered protest, as did a number of his lieutenants. Treasurer George Parmly Day of Yale University asked that Jerome Davis prepare and be ready to file copies of all outside speeches in order that protection be afforded both to Yale and to himself, a request which was endorsed by Dean Luther Weigle. Though the address brought enthusiastic support from the Chicago ministerial group, (the editor of The Baptist, Chicago, termed it "eminently judicious and fair"), it clearly left its mark at Yale. Dean Luther Weigle refused to accept the letter in which Jerome Davis declined to prepare written manuscripts of all his speeches, but the dean said he would not press the matter.

In the spring of 1933, Ferdinand Pecora accepted an invitation of Jerome Davis to deliver a lecture at Yale at which Dean Charles E. Clark of the School of Law would preside. This lecture was to be given for the benefit of the Henry Wright Cottage of the Divinity School. At the June, 1933, meeting of the Prudential Committee of the Corporation, the application for a university building was refused, the secretary of the University asserting, "I took it that they were not pleased with the suggestion that Mr. Pecora speak from any Yale platform, chiefly for the reason that the gentleman's work with the Senate's Committee has taken on so much the character of a sensational side show which the Committee did not wish to have rehearsed under the auspices of the University." (Letter of July 7, 1933, from Carl A. Lohmann, secretary, to Jerome Davis.) This action was termed by Dean Charles E. Clark of the School of Law a "great mistake" in a letter of August 21, 1933, to Jerome Davis. Dean Luther Weigle added, "I realize the prejudice among Yale alumni that the Prudential Committee is up against." (Letter of September 1, 1933, to Jerome Davis.) As a result the lecture date had to be canceled.

Perhaps the climaxing incident in Jerome Davis' career at Yale centered around the invitation which was sent to Senator Gerald P. Nye to be the annual speaker for the Henry Wright Cottage of the Divinity School. Although this invitation was issued at the suggestion of Professor Robert Seneca Smith as a member of the committee of three of which Dr. Davis was chairman, and was approved by Dean Luther Weigle, the responsibility for it tended to rest on the shoulders of Dr. Davis and had considerable bearing on the decision as to his promotion. The use of Woolsey Hall had been granted by the Yale Corporation but, following charges by Senator Nye that Woodrow Wilson falsely denied before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1919 having knowledge of secret treaties for the division of Germany and enemy territory before he arrived at the Versailles Peace Conference, President Angell raised the question as to whether the lecture should not be postponed or canceled. The sequence of events runs somewhat as follows:

On January 15, 1936, President Angell wrote Dean Weigle the letter reproduced above, in which he asserted that "Jerome is becoming an increasing nuisance," and added that his patience was "inevitably wearing a little thin." President Angell contended that "he is trying to bring Senator Nye here and to drum up a student demonstration to exhibit the sympathy of the University for Senator Nye's views." This letter was employed with devastating effect at the meeting called to consider Davis' promotion, although Dr. Davis had at that time no opportunity to see the letter or to refute it.

The administration moved rapidly to obtain cancellation of the Nye meeting, or at least its postponement. On January 18, 1936, Dean Luther Weigle asserted that unless such action was taken the situation would be serious for Jerome Davis. The committee was hastily called together; Jerome Davis insisted that since Senator Nye had already accepted the invitation and since tickets were already on sale, the meeting should go forward unless the university authorities would write an official letter asking that the lecture be canceled or postponed, which could then be sent to Senator Nye. This Davis felt would be a mistake, but it would at least place the responsibility for the action upon the Yale administration, not with a Divinity School committee which really wanted him to come.

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The president and the provost were still of the opinion that cancellation or at least postponement was advisable, and finally it was officially postponed at the request of President Angell. Senator Nye was so informed by a letter from the dean.

The reason is stated in a letter of January 20, 1936, from President James Angell to Jerome Davis, which incidentally explains the misunderstanding concerning the demonstration for the Senator. President Angell's statement came too late to affect the adverse decision that had been voted by the Divinity School faculty on January 17, following the reading of the president's condemnation of Dr. Davis. The letter of January 20 follows:

> This acknowledges yours of January 17.
>
> I naturally have no accurate means of knowing what you may have said at Reading and the newspaper reports are, I can well believe, materially distorted. The disturbing circumstance is that it is simply the latest of a long chain of similar newspaper references to your statements, which, however sound in purpose, convey a very unfortunate impression to the public and equally unfortunately you cannot speak publicly without its appearing to be the voice of the University, for you are always referred to as a professor at Yale.
>
> I should not have been enthusiastic about having Senator Nye here at any time, for those who have followed his career most carefully appear to entertain a rather unflattering impression of him as a man chiefly concerned to promote his own position in the focus of public attention. In any case, what now disturbs me is his indecent attack on President Wilson, which has stirred a very deep public resentment and which personally I believe to be based on the misinterpretation of historical facts. My personal view, however, is of no consequence at the moment, but it is quite impossible under these circumstances to have Mr. Nye come here and not once again have the University pilloried as indicating by such an invitation that it supports his attack on President Wilson. At the present moment this seems to me a quite insufferable prospect and entirely regardless of the correctness, or incorrectness, of Senator Nye's position. I am therefore very much hoping that your committee will see fit to announce a postponement at least of the scheduled meeting. I shall personally much prefer to have the Nye invitation completely withdrawn, but, in any case, a postponement until public opinion has quieted down and the episode in question has passed out of the area of vivid memory seems to me quite imperative. I can assure you that the Corporation would not have granted the permission to use Woolsey Hall for an address by Senator Nye, if this Wilson attack had occurred prior to their action.
>
> I was told quite directly that you had called the News office and had there attempted to secure a vigorous support of the Nye meeting as a demonstration of the University's sympathy with Senator Nye's general position and had urged that the University's Band be on hand to welcome him and give impressive demonstration to this supposed approval of Senator Nye's policies by the University community. I am, of course, very glad to learn that this report is incorrect, although I quite understand the desire of yourself and your colleagues to attract a good audience to the meeting in the interest of the Wright Cottage.

Summary and Conclusions

1. When Dr. Davis was considering a call to a full professorship at the University of Wisconsin in 1925, the dean of the Divinity School at the time promised to recommend his promotion to a full professorship at Yale at the end of his existing engagement.

2. When promotion was delayed in 1930, the dean approved Dr. Davis' work and expressed the hope that promotion would come at the end of the next period.

3. When the Divinity School faculty was considering Dr. Davis' promotion in 1936 it was informed that the administration and the Corporation were opposed to it; and the faculty then merely recommended reappointment for three years.

4. Competent men in his field have given evidence that they look upon Dr. Davis as a competent scholar and teacher.

5. Members of the Yale Corporation and administration have brought sharp criticism against him for (a) taking part in trade-union educational activities opposed to open-shop interests; (b) advocating the recognition of Soviet Russia; (c) attacking the methods of Samuel Insull in the utility business; (d) accepting the findings and conclusions of Professor Fay and Professor Barnes on the question of responsibility for the origins of the World War; (e) inviting Ferdinand Pecora to lecture at the University; and (f) inviting Senator Nye to be the annual speaker for the Henry Wright Cottage of the Divinity School.

6. Whether Dr. Davis was right or wrong in taking the positions which evoked these criticisms, he was within his rights as a citizen and as a scholar.

7. The nature of the criticisms brought against Dr. Davis and harshness of the language employed by those who made them reveal an animus and temper that are foreign to scholarship—an animus and temper not appropriate for university authorities, even when they are sorely tried by outside pressures and institutional difficulties.

8. The circumstances surrounding the dismissal of Dr. Davis present positive elements involving academic liberties, the rights of the scholar as a citizen and the correct procedure of the university authorities in dealing with such liberties and rights. This is not to say that Dr. Davis is without faults, but that there is a weight of evidence which greatly tips the balance on his side. It is, therefore, fitting that the American Association of University Professors should make a thorough examination of the controversy.

Charles A. Beard,
Paul H. Douglas,
Edward A. Ross,
Colston E. Warne.

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